<u>FORWARD – 1980 – A</u>rticles written by Ross Dowson, or under pseudonym Editor: Wayne Roberts

02_01st-1a **(#40, Feb.)** (US president) Carter sets aflame cold war hysteria (over USSR troops in Afghanistan), by R.D. (BC NDP MP Pauline Jewett critique protests Ed Broadbent's support)

02_01st-1b Bickering for a place as Carter heats up cold war

02_01st-2 (Editorial) Make it count, Vote NDP; Libs-Tories same, need basic change (*Forward*'s support for NDP unconditional but critical of Broadbent leadership)

02_01st-3 Protest the jailing of postal leader Parrot, by Paul Kane

02_01st-4 Windsor autoworkers reject sacrifices for Chrysler Corp. by P. Kent

02_01st-5 RCMP suit blocked but appeal launched, by Ken Napier; Spotlight on Labour history (and RCMP)

02_01st-6 Sask. unionists query support of NDP as labor's own party, by P. Kent

02_01st-7 (International) labor comes to aid of Bell workers, by Jean Laplante

02_01st-8 Column: Oh Canada, by Paul Kane (notes on Canadian nationalism)

04-05-1a **(#41, April-May)** (Editorial) NDP debates Broadbent line (as leader converts NDP into "mainline bourgeois political party"); Thrown out of whack (cynical NDP journals' response to re-election of Liberals)

04-05-1b (continuation); (NDP) Justice critic urges aid to Dowson suit

04-05-2 Ont, Que Bell strikers crack company union, by P. Kent

04-05-3 Column: On the Line, by R.D. (Radio Shack & Steel [union] struggle to the wall; Can't patch up Chrysler Corp.)

04-05-4 Column: Oh Canada, by Paul Kane (NDP Broadbent leadership makes turn to nationalist sentiment after expelling Waffle; *This Magazine* discusses the Waffle experience)

04-05-5 (Editorial) *Forward* financial drive deadline set for June 1

07_01st-1 **(#42, July)** Unions hit paper empires as strikes spread cross East, by P. Kent

07_01st-2 What lurked behind the rush for Bill 89, by P. Kent (Union brass also benefits from automatic union checkoff)

07_01st-3 (Editorials) Corporate gamble with human stakes ('stagflation' calls for) Public ownership; Support Ed Ziemba (NDP MP lacks support from NDP caucus in Ontario legislature)

07_01st-4a Secret record of RCMP 'dirty tricks' by R.D.

07_01st-4b (continuation) Photo: Ross Dowson suing RCMP for slander

07_01st-5a Conspiracy to smash; Vicious concept of thought control behind RCMP Operation Checkmate, by R.D.; Recognize him? (agent provocateur)

07_01st-5b Legitimate political dissent

07_01st-6 Socialist Rights Defence Fund advertisement; Statement of Purpose

07_01st-7 Lawyer barred by inquiry; Key questions posed re Dowson suit; (Kopyto excluded from McDonald Commission hearings)

07_01st-8 Questions of unity and of sects, (ex-RMG walks from merger with ex-LSA)

07_01st-9 Doctors' group reply to OHIP scandal, by Paul Kane (as doctors boycott plan)

07_01st-10 Forward classes discuss economics for socialists; Fund Drive bogs down, *Forward* needs a hand, by the Editors

10-11-1 **(#43, Oct.-Nov.)** New stage in Dowson suit against RCMP, by Chris Judge (slander suit naming Dowson as a subversive comes before court in December)

10-11-2 RCMP criminals cleared by lawmen, by R.D. (Ontario Attorney-General refuses to prosecute admitted RCMP lawbreakers)

10-11-3 (SRDF advertisement) Support this cry for justice! (Five prominent Canadians lead campaign in support of Dowson)

10-11-4 CLC condemns RCMP-labor ties, by R.D. Halifax group exposes RCMP undercover spy, by Jean Laplante

10-11-5 (Editorials) How can labor stop layoffs? (A program of immediate demands); Autonomy battle looms (American-based building trades unions withhold their CLC dues)

10-11-6 Labor deal on Bill 89 brings forth bitter fruit (exchange deal for dues checkoff allowing government intervention on strike votes plays havoc with unity) by P. Kent; Nickel worker unions seek North American contract, by P. Kent

10-11-7 Column: Oh Canada, by P. Kane (the Tory "foreign subsidiary buyout program;" Canadian banks look to US market for fatter returns)

W24-FORWARD – 1980 -- SELECTION

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forward (40) February 1980 Page 1

02-01-pt-fo
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Carter sets aflame cold war hysteria

by Ross Dowson

Carter, in his campaign for re-election as the Big Business Democratic Party's president of the United States, is attempting to parley the the USSR's troop movement into Afghanistan from a condemnation in the United Nations by 104 votes for, to 18 against (with 18 abstaining) into (1) a colossal escalation of the arms drive by all NATO allies, including Canada, which will result in the refueling of inflation and higher interest rates, (2) the extension, through the declaration of the Carter Doctrine, as areas of direct security concern to her NATO allies, including Canada, to not just Western Europe, but the Middle East, Israel, and now countries on the distant Persian Gulf, (3) a technological and strategic goods trade embargo (including food) against the USSR by the NATO allies whose economies are slipping into an economic depression, and (4) a world boycott of this year's Olympic Games scheduled for Moscow.

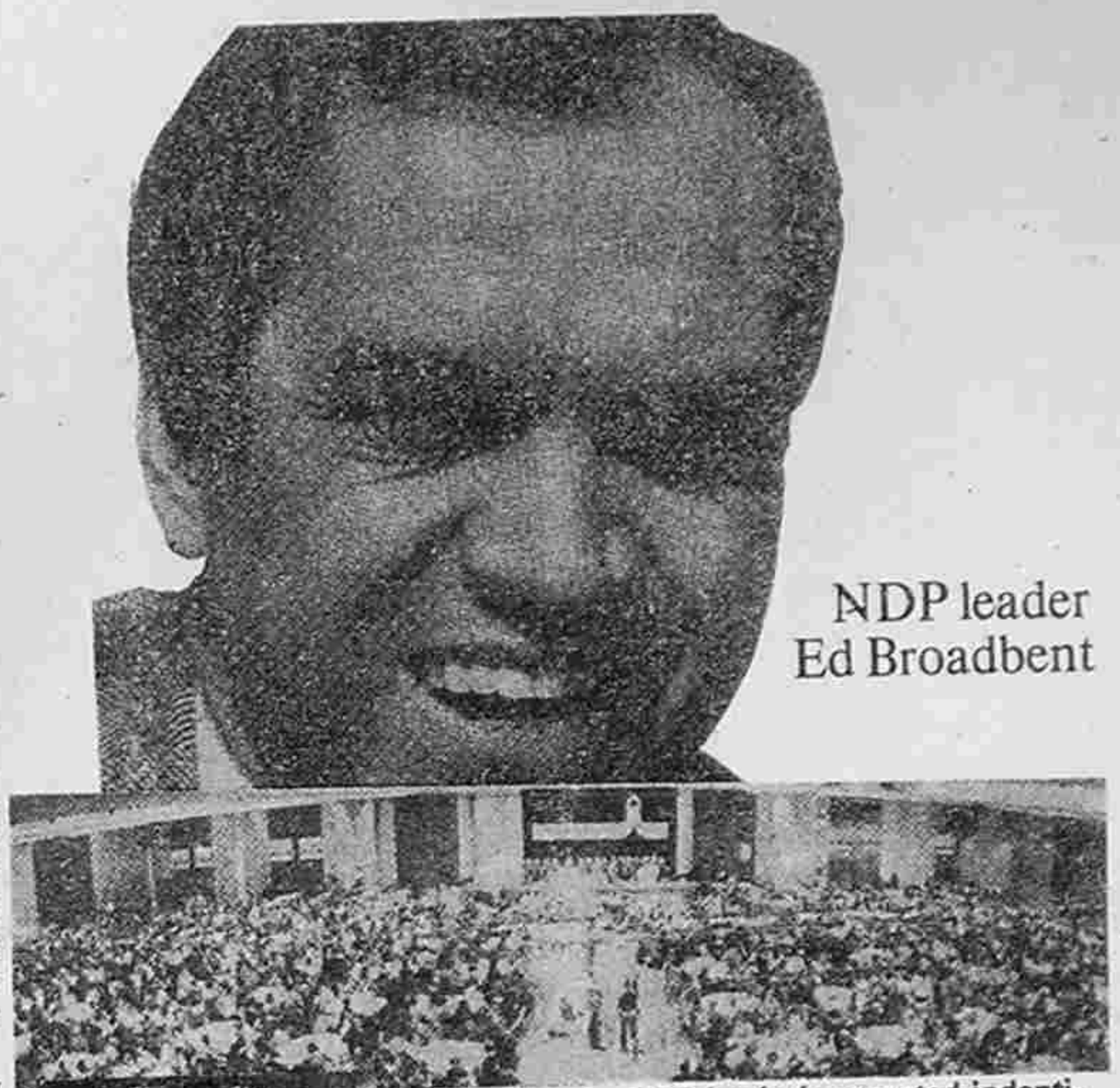
This heating up of the frightening cold war of the Fifties is striking fear of a hot, nuclear war amongst the peoples of the entire globe. It is provoking nervous responses from many heads of governments in alliance with the U.S. Some aspects of the drive are so far-out that they are already bogging down.

But in their campaigns for political office, both Clark, and his PC party, and Trudeau, and his Liberal party, have latched onto this drive, each trying to outdo the other and even Carter himself, as cold war warriors.

With the support of the Tories, the Liberals laid down all the ground work for last month's imposition on Europe of a $5 billion program to re-equip NATO forces with 572 U.S.-built nuclear armed Pershing and cruise missiles, capable of reaching into the USSR, despite the opposition of the Dutch parliament and the two socialist parties in the Belgian five-party coalition government. NATO members have promised to increase their already vast spending by 3% a year over the next period.

Today, Clark, contrasting his sorry position as compared to Carter's, is accusing the Liberals and NDP, who rejected his budget and brought on the election, of playing politics with the future of Canada, of "leaving this nation without a parliament as

continued on page 2



NDP leader Ed Broadbent

Disturbed by the NDP leader's repeated identification with U.S. President Carter's escalation of the cold war, behind which Clark and Trudeau are beating the drums, NDP MP Pauline Jewett protests; if Ed Broadbent is backing the Carter stand "then he is not speaking for me, the caucus or the party... We do not support military action or sabre rattling. Our emphasis is, and must continue to be disarmament because it is madness to have any other emphasis."

Pauline Jewett, NDP MP [New Westminster-Coquitlam] broke from the Liberal Party over its imposition of the War Measures Act in 1970. She is the NDP shadow cabinet Minister of External Affairs, women's issues and Canadian economic independence. She has served as president of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women and director of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

Bickering for a place as Carter heats up cold war

continued from page 1

the Soviets marched into Afghanistan." When Trudeau countercharged that Clark had not given sufficient support to the U.S. thereby leaving the USSR the opening to move into Afghanistan, Clark redbaited him. He cynically noted Trudeau's one-time characterization of better relations with the USSR as a useful counterbalance to U.S. pressure on Canada.

To the declaration of the Carter Doctrine and ranking Republican Senator Javitz' call on all NATO allies to "show their flags immediately in the Persian Gulf and revise the NATO treaty to declare their interests in that area," Clark has responded that Canada considers the Persian Gulf "vital" to its interests and will even consider deploying Canadian forces beyond NATO and into the Persian Gulf states.

The Liberals and the Tories have all along been cutting social services to the bone while increasing military expenditures. Now they are projecting a much more rapid escalation of the arms budget. The new Tory President of the Treasury Board, Sinclair Stevens, is promising to increase military spending by a colossal 17%. To the Tory charge that the Liberals have been short changing the armed forces all along, former Liberal Defence Minister Danson, taking a swipe in passing at Carter's embargo against the USSR as totally ineffective, is urging a vast reinforcement of NATO. He is urging that Canada's forces in Germany be boosted up to wartime strength and its Ace Mobile Force Land commitment placed on full alert in Canada, if not in Norway. To the Tory defence minister's approval of Carter as "acting wisely," Danson countered that the U.S. "sea and air capacity should be carrying troops, ammunition and equipment to the European theater and should also be taking similar actions through the South East Asia Treaty Organization." Both are echoing Carter's threatening preparations to draft U.S. youth. While Clark says that his government "at this time" would not be contemplating conscription (thereby confirming that it actually is), Liberal Danson has declared that he favors "compulsory military and other services for Canadians around the age of 18-19," along with the expansion of regular and reserve forces.

With nothing substantial to give weight to Carter's embargo of high technology and strategic goods going to the USSR—although slavishly endorsing it as an example to European NATO allies, who are reluctant to lose the business—Ottawa threw a spy scare into the pot. Three of the staff of the Soviet Embassy have been expelled as spies operating, not against Canada, but the U.S.—"an attempted betrayal of our own sovereignty in our own country," cried External Affairs Minister MacDonald.

Among Canada's commitments to the NATO military alliance are fighter bombers such as the above winging over Europe.

As shock treatment, having done all possible to make everyone on this continent close ranks against the foreign danger and in order to internationalize the State Department's cold war hysteria and take it right down into the populace, Carter issued a series of ultimatums with regards to the Olympic Games. Clark now stands "cheek to cheek and bum to bum" with Carter as he bludgeons the Olympic Games Committees here to join in the boycott of Moscow. Failing that, he is threatening to withdraw funds and is even hinting he will follow Carter by lifting the passports of anyone defying the boycott.

Perhaps to provide his party with an incident that under different times could serve to excuse it of coresponsibility for unpopular acts that flow out of the anti-Soviet hysteria (remember McCarthyism!) Trudeau has dissociated himself from the Olympics boycott. UAW President McDermott, with 16,500 autoworkers on the unemployed lines in mind, has questioned the trade embargo as possibly another affair that Clark "rushed into without recognizing the consequences of the enormity of it." McDermott dismissed AFL-CIO President Kirkland's appeal for Canadian support of the U.S. shipping union brass' boycott, with the comment "we will look into it."

What is most shocking of all is the response of Ed Broadbent in the name of the NDP, to this warmongering, red-baiting and fundamentally anti-working class drive. It is all the more outrageous in that the official policy of the party laid down by convention is well-known to be one of opposition to both the NORAD and NATO aggressive anti-Soviet military conspiracies, and commitment to Canada's withdrawal from them. Party spokespersons in the house have heretofore condemned the expenditure of vast funds for the equipment of Canadian forces with new nuclear-capable fighter aircraft.

In not just one or two public statements, which might be excused as incidental and ill-considered, but in an increasing number of statements, which affirm them to be top party leadership policy, Broadbent has given 100% endorsement to the Carter Doctrine and all its ramifications —even on the Olympic boycott where his position is only half way to Trudeau's—removal of the games from Moscow, and failing that, Canadian participation.

What does Broadbent hope to achieve by his calculated repudiation of official policy on a question with such wide ramifications and of such a provocative and divisive character to many of the party's members and supporters who are exerting themselves to get the party elected into office? His me-too policy on the cold war is only one aspect of a me-too position on all the issues of the day that Broadbent is propagating through the mass media. It is becoming increasingly obvious that not only are the Liberals and Tories essentially the same, but the NDP is itself becoming politically indistinguishable from them.

It would seem probable that Broadbent's wide fronted me-too policy will block the party from taking advantage of whatever possibilities there are in the Liberal-Tory party crises, from making any substantial gains in seats and percentage of votes. There is little doubt that Broadbent's joining in the cold war hysteria, in violation of official party policy, has taken the heart out of many of the most devoted campaigners.

The Broadbent leadership strategy is one of defeat. Ways must be found to dissociate the party from his policies **now**, in preparation for a real calling of accounts immediately following the elections. All the hard-won gains of the past and the future of the party are at stake.

Make it count, Vote NDP

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

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Libs-Tories same, need basic change

by the Editors

After six years of existence, **Forward**, an independent publication of a group of socialist activists in the NDP, looks back proudly on its continued record of solid support for the party in election after election. We have always appreciated that the NDP is a party of a fundamentally different character from the two old-line parties. Its links with the labor movement through affiliations with trade unions have placed it in class opposition to the big business politics of the Liberals and Tories—both of which stand increasingly exposed as partisans of the same policies designed to serve corporate interest.

As a labor party, the NDP represents the hopes and aspirations of working people throughout Canada—their desire to place social need above the profit motive, to wrest control of the heights of key sectors of our economy, owned largely by U.S. capitalist interests, and turn it to the public domain. The NDP represents the only serious political alternative for those who wish to support a party that fights for peace and disarmament, who wish to disentangle Canada from NATO and NORAD, who respect the rights of the Québécois to negotiate with English Canada as a sovereign state, who stand for women's rights and for full trade union rights.

With the experience of the Liberals and Tories back to back, and with continued unemployment and inflation eating away at the hard-fought gains of many workers, the opportunity for the NDP to popularize its program, to identify with the struggles of working people, has seldom been greater. The urgent economic situation has clearly opened the possibility for a dynamic hard-hitting campaign, much like the Lewis "corporate welfare bums" campaign, to establish the NDP nationally. With the Liberals saddled with a has-been leader and neither big business party having a national base, it could be said that the NDP could have dramatic possibilities for electoral gain in the current campaign.

However, in a campaign strategy which must be shocking to many party activists, the Broadbent leadership of the party has decided to run an image-oriented, me-too campaign, a campaign whose very purpose is to blur, not to emphasize, the differences between the NDP and other parties. To this end, Broadbent has completely underwritten Carter's renewal of cold war hysteria—even threatening war—around Afghanistan. He has effectively dumped the party program for getting out of NATO and NORAD. He has made a key theme of the campaign the NDP's support for "a vigorous private sector," has repudiated opposition to multinationals as such, and has even stated that the NDP would not hesitate to pass back-to-work legislation to stop "disruptive strikes."

The so-called "winning formula" that Broadbent is implementing can only harm the party, especially as the Liberals zero in on NDP territory in an attempt to cash in on the opposition sentiment against the Tories.

Certainly it will not inspire those tens of thousands of workers who don't bother to vote because they are offered no perspective. It will not help the party in Quebec where the party's blind loyalty to the federal institutions of the Canadian state have cut it off effectively from the hundreds of thousands of Québécois voters infused with a profound nationalistic spirit. It will not help the party to establish a firm, clear image as a party of working people among the more than two million trade union members who are locked in a day-to-day struggle against Canadian, largely U.S.-dominated corporate interests.

Our support for the NDP is unconditional, given its role as the political arm of labor representing independent opposition to the parties of big business. Our support for the party is not determined by what those who happen to be the leaders of the party at any particular time have to say, but by its essential social significance. We continue to urge all partisans of workers' struggles and socialism to join the NDP, to shape it, to win it to socialism and to elect NDP governments federally, provincially and municipally. While we continue to back the

continued on page 2

Basic change needed

continued from page 1

party 100% in the current election, we must raise an alarm at the game that the leadership of the party is engaged in.

It is commonplace to hear the party establishment talk about how "Ed" is much more popular than the party, as if to imply that, but for the party itself, Broadbent would be swept into power.

We disagree; Ed Broadbent is only our leader. Without the party, he is nothing. By dumping the party program on key issues, by retreating on the party's long-standing opposition to NATO, NORAD, the U.S. capitalists' war drive and other issues, it is the party that is being compromised and held back by the leadership. Of course it is regrettable that Broadbent and the federal leadership's actions have thrust this dispute up in the midst of an election campaign where opponents of the party may hope mistakenly to use it against the party.

Some of the main configurations of the differences were revealed in the November federal convention where a considerable number of delegates formed a left caucus in order to bring clarity to the situation. Unfortunately the challenge of the election and the need to employ all our strength in this effort halted this process. It must now once again get underway. In this issue we have published two contributions that deal with some of the underlying factors in the present dispute—from MPP Jan Dukszta and from MPP Floyd Laughren and others. We think they well help to raise the level of the dispute that has now been brought to the fore for discussion.

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forward (40) February 1980

02-01-3

Protest the jailing of postal leader Parrot

by Paul Kane

The Supreme Court of Canada has ruled on postal worker leader Jean-Claude Parrot's appeal of his three-month jail sentence for defying the parliamentary order that forced the postal workers back to work. The court has disallowed his appeal and the leader of the militant Canadian Union of Postal Workers is now languishing behind prison bars.

The jailing of Parrot marks a significant turn in the years-long campaign of the Liberal and Tory servants of Big Business interests, through government power in Ottawa, to housebreak and smash the postal workers union and to intimidate and discipline the newly organizing public service workers. The fact that Parrot, one of a new breed of principled and courageous working class spokespersons, has been thrust in jail with scarcely a murmur of protest from the official leadership of the powerful forces of the organized labor movement, is indeed a sad commentary on this leadership.

Commenting on the current situation just a matter of weeks before the court ruling, Parrot said: "There are two tendencies within the labor movement. According to one, the general climate is anti-union, so we have to play it cool and look moderate and responsible. That comes

continued on page 6

Jean-Claude Parrot sentenced to jail

Protest the jailing of postal leader Parrot

continued from page 1

down to doing nothing except work for the New Democratic Party. The other view is that employers are getting more aggressive, putting us on the defensive, and forcing us to fight just to keep what we have. That means we have an even greater responsibility to take a stand, even if that means confrontation."

Nick McCombie, vice-president of the Association of Commercial and Technical Employees Union (ACTE) issued a spirited defence to the press last month of the demand by the delegates to the Ontario Federation of Labor convention that all charges against Parrot be dropped. To insinuations that the delegates were counselling violation of the laws of the land, McCombie replied that the "press should be aware that the resolution supporting the Canadian Union of Postal Workers is a resolution, which explicitly does countenance disregard for unjust orders of Parliament or Provincial Legislature.

Sean O'Flynn forced to serve term

"The right to organize, to negotiate collectively, to strike, to peacefully picket, have all been illegal in Canada at one time or another," he wrote. "Had the labor movement in the past not 'disregarded orders of Parliament' there would not have been an OFL convention, nor indeed an OFL."

Very good words! But the transition from words to deeds in the case of the jailing of Parrot must begin to take place at once. A campaign must be got underway through the discussion and passing of protest resolutions by every union local. Mass meetings of protest must be organized and demonstrations held demanding the remission of this sentence and his release so that he can take his place in the new round of negotiations confronting CUPW. There can be no illusions that the jailing of Parrot is an isolated incident as the jailing of OPSEU leader O'Flynn testifies.

Sean O'Flynn, president of the 60,000 member Ontario Public Service Employees Union was not only denied the customary early release from a 35 day sentence for counselling 3,000 jail guards to strike last month. Their three day strike violated the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act which forbids strikes by civil servants. O'Flynn is now threatened with a $12,000 fine and the union with a $120,000 fine. His early release, unanimously recommended by the three-man internal jail board and vetoed by the jail superintendent in consultation with the Ministry of Correctional Services, has been condemned as "punitive, vindictive and unfair."

O'Flynn pleaded guilty before the court to counselling the 3,000 jail guards to strike in order to gain a new bargaining unit. Following the strike, an arbitrator granted this demand. O'Flynn refused to appeal his sentence and entered Toronto's Don Jail, escorted by Ontario Federation of Labor President Cliff Pilkey, to shouts of solidarity from a score of placard-waving off-duty guards. Pilkey told the press that O'Flynn, in violating the law took the only course open to him, since the government denies public employees their basic rights. O'Flynn told the Supreme Court that his conscience would not allow him to obey the strikebreaking injunction.

The conscience of labor cannot allow it to sit idly by while Parrot rots in jail!

Inside This Issue

No to Chrysler...p. 3

Ryan's option.. p.5

Afghanistan ... p.7

forward (40) Feb. 1980

02-0157 4

Windsor autoworkers reject sacrifices for Chrysler Corp.

by P. Kent

Canadian and U.S. autoworkers are suffering massive unemployment, layoffs, short time, and are seeing their supplementary unemployment benefit funds disappear. Nonetheless, backed up by the international leadership of the United Autoworkers Union, Lee Iacocca, president of the troubled Chrysler auto empire, has succeeded in squeezing the U.S. membership into accepting a $448 million dollar wage cut. This sacrifice, that works out to approximately $4,500 a year per worker, was a proviso in the U.S. Senate's response to bankrupt Chrysler's appeal that it be granted a $1.5 billion federal loan guarantee in the hope that its operations will continue to turn over.

Sweetened by the tokenist gesture that UAW President Doug Fraser is to henceforth sit on Chrysler's board of directors, the motion that Chrysler workers kickback to the company additional contract gains worth $203 million, which will put their wages below autoworkers at Ford and GM and fuel wage cuts there, was carried at Detroit's Local 212 by 3,047 votes for, 576 against. But Chrysler's Canadian employees, covered by the same contract, have sharply rebuffed Iacocca's attempt to con them into joining in the sacrifice because "they're part of the total Chrysler family."

Frank LaSorda, president of Local 444 in Windsor brushed Iacocca's blandishments aside. "We're in a different country. Our feeling is that we shouldn't have to give up any concessions to some s.o.b. Senators. We're not giving up a red cent in wages. We'll bargain separately," he responded. "Giving up wages," he pointed out, "is no guarantee that the company will stay afloat. And if the workers sacrifice and the company does well, who reaps the benefits? Not the workers!"

Coming out of a session of the UAW's Chrysler bargaining committee, UAW President Fraser told the press that "the Canadian leadership has decided not to participate with American UAW workers. They object to acting on the legislation of another country." Canadian director Bob White responded that "we're not trying to torpedo anything...we have to make some decision on the basis of what the Canadian government does..." Fraser noted that this "effectively means the end of the international agreement between the Canadian and American branches of the union."

Capitalist free enterpriser Iacocca has come up to tin-cup Ottawa with promises to spend $1.2 billion on Chrysler's out-moded Canadian plants, in return for a $300-500 million handout. But Tory leader Clark, attempting to keep the question of U.S. corporate ownership of the auto industry—the largest employers in the country and a key element in the massive unemployment here—out of the election debate and from becoming the issue it should be, has postponed any action until after February 18.

Before a Windsor nominating meeting, NDP leader Ed Broadbent declared his complete solidarity with Windsor autoworker sentiments to reject pay cuts as a means of bolstering up Chrysler. He argued that Ottawa should be renegotiating the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact which is responsible for an accumulated deficit in auto trade of $11 billion, $3 billion of it in 1979.

While Chrysler is selling off many of its foreign operations at bargain prices—in Brazil and Argentina to Volkswagen, in Colombia and Venezuela to GM and in Australia to the Japanese, Broadbent failed to pick up the challenge of public ownership of Chrysler and the construction of a car manufactured to Canadian conditions. As a condition for shelling out public funds to the bankrupt company Broadbent urged that Ottawa demand iron-clad guarantees from Chrysler of enough jobs and investment and research development to make it worth-while. "If there is cash required from the people of Canada," he said, "then the people of Canada should obtain equity or shares in the corporation."

But what if the company goes belly up, which seems quite possible? The public treasury, public funds, will guarantee the loans of banks, but promises and commitments will be scraps of paper along with company bonds and shares. And what about the jobs and the fate of communities such as Windsor? Not public charity from the working class who are having to pull in their belts and are being pressured to make more sacrifices to the corporate elite so that they can invest in those sectors of the economy that remain profitable, but public ownership, planned production for use and workers control, are the answer.

forward (40) Feb. 1980

02-0157-5

RCMP suit blocked but appeal launched

by Ken Napier

Federal Court Judge Campbell Grant released a decision December 27, dismissing a major portion of Ross Dowson's slander suit against the RCMP. The judge ruled that the words complained of by Dowson were made as an extension of parliamentary proceedings and between high officials of government. They were thereby "privileged" and immune from suit.

However, he permitted the suit to continue to trial on the basis of Dowson's allegations that the words complained of were repeated on other occasions.

Both the RCMP and Mr. Dowson have filed notices of appeal to the Federal Court of Appeal. The RCMP is seeking to have the entire action dismissed. Dowson is appealing the ruling that the Crown is immune from being sued. He claims that the statements were not made in good faith in the course of official duty, but in order to hide RCMP illegalities directed against the NDP.

The RCMP statement which is the subject matter of the litigation was made by RCMP security officials to an official of the Ontario government in response to inquiries by the NDP in the Ontario Legislature concerning RCMP investigations of the NDP in the early 1970's. The RCMP statement alleges that the Waffle, a left-wing grouping within the NDP at the time, had been under supervision because of penetration by ex-Communists and members of the League for Socialist Action. The statement claimed that the LSA "advocates social change by violent and undemocratic means." Ross Dowson was head of the LSA at all relevant times.

The appeal will be heard in Toronto in early spring before three Federal Court judges.

Judge Grant's ruling establishes a dangerous precedent by effectively giving the RCMP the right to call anyone subversive with impunity and by covering up RCMP interference in the New Democratic Party. However, the decision fell short of RCMP desires to block the suit completely.

From the start, the RCMP has attempted to use all means to prevent the suit moving into the discovery stage, where they would have to answer embarrassing questions about activities directed against the NDP.

The legal confrontation thus contains the possibility of piercing the veil of secrecy in which RCMP activities directed against the NDP had been shrouded. It is undoubtedly this fear that has led the government to direct the suit through the Solicitor-General of Canada.

With the official backing of the New Democratic Party, which endorsed the suit at its last federal convention, and with broad support from leading U.S. and Canadian politicians, labor leaders and intellectuals, the suit clearly poses the need to defend the legality and legitimacy of socialist thought in the face of accusations of subversion by the RCMP. Its success should be of concern to everyone committed to civil liberties.

Financial aid is urgently needed to meet the expenses of the appeal. Contributions should be sent to Socialist Rights Defence Fund, c/o Harry Paine, president, St. David's NDP, 50 Thornecliffe Avenue, Toronto, M4K 1V5.

from the Saskatchewan NDP's Commonwealth

Spotlight on
LABOUR HISTORY
UNION RECOGNITION
STRIKE
ON STRIKE
THE ROLE OF THE RCMP IN LABOUR MATTERS IS EXEMPLIFIED BY THEIR PERFORMANCE ON SEPT. 29TH, 1931 IN ESTEVAN, SASKATCHEWAN.
DURING A STRIKE FOR UNION RECOGNITION, MINERS WITH THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN HELD A PEACEFUL MARCH.
SUDDENLY THE RCMP OPENED FIRE...SHOOTING POINT BLANK INTO THE RANKS!

3 MINERS WERE KILLED, 40 WOUNDED
2 DIED LATER IN HOSPITAL.
"MURDERED BY THE RCMP" WAS INSCRIBED ON THE TOMBSTONES.
LATER THE AUTHORITIES HAD THE WORDS REMOVED BUT NOTHING HAS CHANGED IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE RCMP AND THE WORKING CLASS WHICH REMAINS THE SAME NOW AS IT WAS ON THAT INFAMOUS DAY IN ESTEVAN.

CH MB

from Sask. Commonwealth

forward (40) Feb. 1980

02_01_57-6

Sask. unionists query support of NDP as labor's own party

by P. Kent

The Saskatchewan unionists who presented a militant program and slate of candidates in opposition to the administration at last fall's Saskatchewan Federation of Labor convention have decided to sustain their caucus on a continuing basis.

Bud Massey, chairman of this Trade Union Group and president of the Saskatchewan region of the International Woodworkers of America, says their main goal is to make the SFL "more responsive to the needs of the affiliates which make up the Federation." He describes TUG as a "pressure group" to make sure the SFL executive carries out the policies and wishes of its 60,000 affiliated members.

However, the rotten strikebreaking stance of the Blakeney NDP government against the Saskatchewan Government Employees Association, and the Federation brass' whitewash of Blakeney, has posed a critical challenge to TUG. While TUG has decided to put up a sustained fight inside the union federation against its leadership, with a counter program and alternative officers, forces within it are urging that the NDP, which has been built over the years as labor's political arm, be conceded in advance without a fight to the federation brass and the Blakeney leadership.

At a time when it is becoming increasingly clear to wider layers of workers that trade union struggles are ever more rapidly taking on political dimensions, TUG is advocating that labor's stance be "free of close ties with any political party or group." This of course means, since we assume it has none with the Liberals or Tories, "free of close relations" with the NDP.

It is difficult to understand how such a stance would increase or heighten the trade union movement's ability to say to those who head up the boss party machines and the leadership of the NDP that "we disagree with what they are doing and we are going to fight them because of it," as claims Larry Brown, chief executive officer of the Saskatchewan Government Employees Association who was provisionally posed as TUG's candidate for SFL president. In what way does princi pled support of the NDP block union ists' ability to voice their criticisms c current NDP policies and the role c its present leadership? And sinc such criticism must be made, wher else can it be better made with th possibility of achieving its aim, tha in the NDP itself?

The obvious fact of the matter i that TUG, even now, has the mal ings of an effective caucus right ir side the Saskatchewan NDP itsel which is certainly one of the mos open sections of the party with a lon history of rank and file dissident op position. For TUG to dismiss out c hand the fight for a militant prograr and leadership in the NDP, which i a power base of Blakeney and hi SFL cohorts, while on the other han fighting to win the majority of unior ists, many of whom are NDP mem bers, are active in it and will conti nue to vote for it whatever its leade ship as there is no real alternative– such a policy is to undermine th possibilities of TUG's success withi the federation itself and the Cana dian Labor Congress.

forward (40) Feb. 1980

Intl labor comes to aid of Bell strikers

by Jean Laplante

The hands of communication workers in 87 countries across the world are stretching out in solidarity with the 7,400 striking telephone operators and cafeteria workers who are mounting picket lines in the icy cold at major Bell operations in Ontario and Quebec.

The ban on all scab-management placed calls from Ontario and Quebec went into effect following an appeal of support for the Canadian unionists by the Geneva, Switzerland based Postal, Telephone and Telegraph International, representing four million members.

A Bell manager, scab-operating long distance calls, told the press that operators involved in calls to France, England and the U.S. are refusing all scab calls: "If we tell them that the call is from Toronto, they hang up."

Bell is paying these managers their regular rate for the first 7½ hours and $24 an hour in overtime rates for the balance of a ten-hour shift. The operators and cafeteria workers struck on January 21, when Bell turned down the union's proposal that the basis of a settlement be a recommendation of government conciliator Roland Tremblay that Bell grant a three-year contract with wage increases of 15.9% retroactive to November 25, 1978—12.2% on November 25, 1979, and 9% on November 25, 1980. The workers have had no increase since Novem-

continued on page 2

Intl labor comes to aid of Bell strikers

continued from page 1

ber 1977 and the average operator gets less than $8,000 a year.

One of the wealthiest corporations in the world, Bell i s putting the members of the Communications Workers of Canada through a baptism of fire. This is the first time that these workers have negotiated with Bell since they broke out of a long-established company-union set-up to join the ranks of the Canadian and world-wide labor movement. As we go to press, Bell, while claiming that the strike is having little impact, has agreed to open up mediation processes. The ranks of the pickets, mostly young women, are solid and militant.

02_0157

forward (40) Feb. 1980

02-0178

Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

To counter the swamping of Canadian airwaves by foreign programs, largely from the U.S., so that Canadian culture might develop and find expression and so that Canadian performers might find employment in their own country, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) has established rules to be met by licensed broadcasters.

A CBC television affiliate, in working out its quota, labelled the Canadian head of state's Christmas message to the people of Canada as foreign. Hard to believe, but then quite understandable, since the message was programmed by the British Broadcasting Commission from the London residence of the Queen of England. Those southern tourists are not exactly out to lunch when they express the opinion that Canada is a monarchy. The Queen of England actually is the head of the Canadian state.

But all is well. A CBC spokesman said last December that any broadcast the Queen makes as the head of the Canadian state, regardless of the country of origin, is to be considered Canadian content. After all is said and done, it's her ideas that count, isn't it!

* * *

Only two years ago Queen's University Professor John Meisel decried "the highly developed commercialism of Canadian values... Canada's toleration for foreign control and influence over its economy and culture so strikingly visible in its school curricula, its television programs and in practically everything we do is unique. No country has...so supinely encouraged the takeover of its resources or mind as has Canada."

They, said Professor Meisel, have turned our television into a national brainwashing instrument—"they" referring to commercial broadcasters, but also we assume to the various Liberal-Tory governments who have opened the airwaves, which like all natural resources should properly belong to the people, to exploitation by these corporate interests.

Meisel fulfilled Tory confidence in him in his first statement following his appointment. "It's too late now," he said, "to tear the whole TV system down and start over. We'll simply have to start from where we are and see where we can go with it. I doubt we could get away with changing the system fundamentally even if we wanted to. Too many people have become attached to it. It's entrenched." That's the due and proper obeisance to capitalist state power that the Liberals and Tories expect.

* * *

Washington's "Buy America" policy is causing difficulties for Bombardier Inc. of Montreal's attempt to win a contract in the U.S. for urban transit vehicles. As the former minister of trade noted, there is no problem in the Canadian company meeting Washington's requirement that the equipment have 51% U.S. content. With the poverty of research and development in Canada resulting from the domination of Canadian manufacturing by U.S.-owned branch plant operations, most manufactured goods have a high U.S. content automatically built right into them. He charged the law requiring final assembly in the U.S. as "overkill." Bombardier Inc. is even considering moving its final assembly plant in La Pocatiere, Quebec, that employs 800, across the border into the U.S. to meet the requirement.

In the face of Professor Meisel's opinion, so well grounded that his predecessor Harry Boyle also shared it, how come the Clark Tory government, in one of its final acts, named him the new chairman of CRTC? If the Tory machine could be said to have fumbled many things, its class instincts are as sure as the Liberals'. It is confident that the system can absorb Meisel and even turn his past oppositionist record to its use—to defuse or coopt any oppositionists who are certain to continue to arise.

04-05-1a

NDP debates Broadbent line

by the Editors

The NDP is in deep trouble. New Democrats from across the country are beginning to take stock of the recent election campaign which saw the two old-line parties exposed back-to-back as supporters of the same policies of higher interest rates, higher inflation and higher unemployment. Yet, we missed a major opportunity to knock off one of the old-line parties and emerge as the real alternative for the Canadian working people.

People were ready for change, the Saskatchewan NDP **Commonwealth** editorialized, "but the NDP could not seize the time and move them to act on that predisposition by voting NDP." The editorial continues: "The party surely must have gone about as far as it can with 'image politics' and the stylized campaigns of the 60's. There are growing rumblings among rank and file party members that to go much further would make the NDP indistinguishable from the Grits and Tories."

In the same spirit, the Woodsworth Irvine Fellowship of the Alberta NDP was moved to ask: "Just where does Broadbent think he is leading us?" They argued that "the NDP industrial strategy was compromised by many concessions to the prevailing 'free enterprise' ideology." The article called Broadbent's "sabrerattling" over Afghanistan "dangerous," and ended with a statement that "we all sincerely want an NDP federal government in Canada—but surely not at the price of compromising our commitment to democratic socialism and world peace."

The matter has not ended with the federal elections. Now in Ontario the rightward drift initiated by the federal leadership has resulted in the NDP's appearing to back the Ontario Tories. Just as Broadbent was outmaneuvered when the Liberals "stole" many of the nationalist themes of the NDP, leaving even the **Toronto Star** to headline "Liberals go too far for NDP good guys," so now the Ontario NDP is humiliated into propping up a discredited Tory government. Michael Cassidy's excuse that there are no issues that would justify an election is dishonest and scandalous. The economy is in much worse shape this year than last, when he proposed six non-confidence votes.

To top it off, we now know that Broadbent took Trudeau's offer of cabinet seats, discussed it as calmly as one might "discuss the weather," to quote Broadbent, but rejected it for the time being. Trudeau is no fool. He was able to woo NDP Premier Schreyer into the Governor Generalship, to the applause of the NDP leadership, and knows the leadership's willingness to subordinate principle to respectability and career opportunities.

The NDP's floundering response to these problems is rooted first and foremost in its program, which has been whittled down by the leadership, and in its repudiation of convention decisions. As Broadbent sabrerattled along with Clark, even Toronto **Globe** columnist Geoffrey Stevens could closely paraphrase Broadbent and note that he converted "a protest movement into a mainline bourgeois political party, a labor-based party which can vote to break a strike of west-coast grainhandlers, a non-militaristic party which can contemplate with equanimity increased defence spending, a reform party which can envision governing without performing radical surgery on existing social and economic institutions."

Nor does the NDP leadership program or perspective offer a way out of the dilemna we are in. In its search for media success and a winning personality campaign, it downplayed the party's platform. In

continued on page 2

Scores Broadbent

continued from page 1

calling for Canadianization without nationalization and planning without owning, the NDP ended up sounding like an echo of the Liberals. In Ontario, the party cannot rebuild its image as a serious alternative, it cannot even mount any significant campaigns, for it will immediately be challenged to bring down the government, and this the Ontario party leadership is pledged not to do. The leadership have got us up the creek without a paddle.

Only a critical appraisal of recent errors and a left turn can save the party from confusion, listlessness and irrelevance. It is now more necessary than ever for the left forces, who gathered at the last federal convention to form a left caucus and who are now gathering to prepare for an Ontario convention, to organize and get the party on track.

This is a legitimate party tradition, for, as Tommy Douglas said in the early 1970s: "My dread has never been that the party will be too radical. My dread has been that the party will settle into a rut and become complacent. People who act as gadflies are useful in keeping you from becoming so over-cautious in order to get the support of the middle class that you dilute the party, tone it down until it becomes indistinguishable from say, a Liberal party."

It is now time for a new left to emerge, to sound the alarm, and to begin to steer the movement onto the socialist path.

Thrown out of whack

One of our contemporary NDP journals, apparently in shock from the return of the Liberals to federal government office and the failure of the NDP to make any substantial progress, carries a raging commentary by its editor.

We may not like it, we are told, but "in the end people do get the kind of government they both deserve and want."

Fortunately this "end," the Liberal return to parliamentary office for the next four to five years, is an incident from which, to be sure, there will be many dire consequences, but an incident in a process of the struggle for a workers' government, itself an "end" on the way to a socialist society and beyond. We do not at all think that the people "want" the government that they are getting, nor do they "deserve" it, even though the individual actions of a majority added to the election of the Liberals into parliamentary office.

We think even this "end" could have been otherwise. The veering of the electorate from support of the Liberals to the Tories, and back again, and the collapse of both these parties of capital as nationally rooted power machines signifies the breakdown of capitalist political hegemony and the weakened influence of the mass media that so faithfully serves it.

This sentence, tossed in as an obvious and fundamental truth, loaded with cynicism, can only serve to completely exonerate Liberal-Tory strategists in their criminal deception of the electorate. And naturally enough, it inevitably does so—as the author continues further along. "So if the Liberals ran a cynical, empty, arrogant, condescending (check one) campaign and won, perhaps," he writes, "it is because that is what the people want, respond to."

That is bad enough. But even worse, it can also only serve to block NDPers, who claim to understand the nature of the problems confronting the Canadian people and to have answers that can lead to solutions, from making any serious analysis of the party leadership's intervention and its responsibility for the results.

The author ends up, quite logically, with the pretence of elementary realism, dismissing the electorate itself: "I know the massive majority of people make the most crucial decisions in their lives—

→ to p. 2

whether to get married, whether to have children, whether to go and fight in a war, what work they will do—for totally subjective, highly personal and usually non-rational reasons. Why should deciding how to vote be any different."

If this were true, if it is a realistic presentation of the situation before us, we could not end up as does the author with a simple-minded defence of the Canadian people's "right to be wrong." We would have to conclude that all hope of change, let alone such fundamental change as would lead to a socialist Canada, is terminated. Not only would today's socialists have to close up shop, but they would have an obligation to posterity to explain how, after getting so far, we have come to a dead-end, and a dead-end that flows from the hoary old argument that socialism is against human nature—in this case working class subjectivity and non-rationality.

While we see capitalism as a world system that is bankrupt and ripe for replacement, we do not share the view that the working class has reached the same level of consciousness and combativity in every part of the world. The Canadian working class has built powerful trade unions to defend their interests against individual corporate interests on the shop floor. The entry of hundreds of thousands of them onto the political arena through the NDP, against the corporate interests organized as a class in political parties and in control of the capitalist state, marks a significant progress on the way to socialism. While we reject all attempts to prettify the working class, we remain firm in our conviction that it is this class, by its specific relations to the means of production in modern capitalist society and by its being the overwhelming majority of the population, is the decisive force for social change—and that that change can only be socialism.

Justice critic urges aid to Dowson suit

The NDP's federal shadow cabinet minister of justice and solicitor-general, Svend Robinson (Burnaby) has issued an appeal to all NDP supporters to get solidly behind the Socialist Rights Defence Fund. The fund was set up to finance Ross Dowson's half million dollar slander suit against the RCMP which arose out of the RCMP's admission of an attempt to justify their interference in the internal affairs of the NDP in the early 1970s.

When an appeal comes before the federal court in the next month or so the RCMP, with unlimited federal funds at its disposal will attempt to block the action entirely and if unsuccessful will attempt to do so on the Supreme Court level. Mr. Robinson, in his appeal for financial support to the SRDF, urges that 'the RCMP can be beaten in the courts, but it will require all of us to unite to see the case through."

Meanwhile the list of eminent Canadians who have declared their support of the case continues to grow—among the latest additions is the well-known TV personality and author of the #1 best seller **My Country**, Pierre Berton. Send your name and whatever financial aid you can give in support to SRDF, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto, Ont M4K 1V5.

04-05-1b

forward (41) April-May 1980

04-05-2

Ont, Que Bell strikers crack company union

by P. Kent

No one, well hardly anyone, loves Ma Bell. It is hated for its outrageous rate gouging, for its patronizing public relations propaganda, for its arrogant take-it-or-leave it servicing, buttressed by its monopolistic domination of Canadian communications. But nobody, least of all the Liberal and Tory governments, has been doing anything about it—until along came some 7,400 Ontario and Quebec telephone operators and cafeteria workers. They have succeeded in cracking the Bell.

Their victory over the Bell communications octopus, after ten weeks on frigid picket lines, makes the score two down with one to go. The strikers, almost all of them women, bargaining through the Communication Workers Union of Canada which they joined last year, have brought down the crumbling company union structure that Bell had so carefully built for over 50 years. Some 15,000 craft and service workers went union in 1976, and now that the operators have come through this baptism of fire, only 15,000 clerical workers remain in Bell's disintegrating company union structure.

Bell precipitated the strike by refusing to comply with a federal conciliator's recommendation. After the strikers presented a solid and militant front for ten weeks, in the course of which Bell squandered an estimated million dollars a week on management personnel to maintain a 24-hour skeleton operation, Bell capitulated. The strikers were conceded a three-year contract, largely retroactive, which when it expires in November of this year will have boosted the top rate for operators, now $194 a week, up to $278 a week.

A key element in the settlement are changes in conditions on the job. Ma Bell's treatment of its staff as children will be drastically curtailed —with the concession of new disciplinary procedures and job security in the face of technological changes. Bell Vice-president Villeneuve conceded that "there will be a change of attitude—the rules of the game will change."

But the 9-billion-dollar corporation, which admitted to siphoning off $433 million in profit last year, is still going ahead with its appeal to the government that it be allowed to gouge subscribers for another 23% increase in residential phone rates. It is also moving to gobble up the last of the independent telephone companies in Ontario. The Ontario Telephone Association which represents 29 of the 33 remaining small independents is trying to block Bell's $20.7 million offer to purchase the Community Telephone Company of Ontario that services subscribers in the Kingston-Strathroy area. OTA Manager Maxfield predicts that "in 10 years there won't be any independent telephone companies left in the province."

The coming May 27 hearings before the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, where Bell will attempt to justify the new increase, will no doubt resound with militant oppostion including the demand that Bell be placed under public ownership and workers control.

forward (41) April-May 1980

Radio Shack & Steel struggle to the wall

Radio Shack, a branch plant operation of the Texas, United States-based Tandy Corporation, was forced to sign its first collective agreement with any unit of its employees anywhere, when it agreed to a one-year contract with its 200-employee unit in Barrie, Ontario. The end of the United Steelworkers-organized strike, which began last August 9, came following the upholding of the Supreme Court of Canada of sweeping directives that the Ontario Labor Relations Board was compelled to issue against the company in the face of unchallengeable evidence that it had been waging a vicious campaign of violation of the most elementary rights of its employees to join a union. During an Ontario board hearing a former company security cop testified that the head of the security force told him he had been instructed by the parent Tandy corporation to get rid of the union "even if it costs a million dollars." The company waged a two-year-long war against unionization involving the planting of spies in the union, firings, intimidation and coercion.

Because of the continued intransigeance of Radio Shack's owners, the negotiators never met but bargained through a mediator. The union and company representatives signed the memorandum of agreement separately at the labor ministry offices. Lisa Devoe, who worked in the Barrie plant for five years until the strike and helped initiate the Steelworkers' unionization drive two years ago, said: "It's not the best contract in the world but we have our foot in the door."

04-05-3

Can't patch up Chrysler Corp

by Ross Dowson

If as Industry Minister Gray states, the health of the Canadian economy is tied to the health of such U.S. corporate giants as Chrysler with its recorded loss of $1.1 billion last year, then the Canadian economy is in a very bad way, and the future of Canadian autoworkers, particularly in Windsor, the site of its major branch plant operation here, is grim indeed.

It would now appear that Ottawa's delay in responding to Chrysler's bid for up to $550 million in loan guarantees and $200 million in direct subsidies results not from a guilty conscience about opening up the public treasury to the corporate welfare bums, at the same time as it has been putting the screws to the workers. It is probably fearful that loan guarantees to Chrysler would be soon called on by the banks, that the handout would be for the entire $750 million, and that even this could fail to stop Chrysler from going belly-up. Chrysler failed to meet its own projected deadline of April 1 to raise the $1.5 billion it requires to qualify for a $1.5 billion U.S. government loan guarantee.

Such projections as the renegotiations of the Canada-U.S. autopact, which resulted in the trade deficit escalating from $600 million in 1978 to $3.1 billion in 1979, and the allocation of more engineering jobs and more in-house parts productions to the Canadian operations, even if agreed to, will do little or nothing to solve the problem which flows from the developing capitalist world-wide economic crisis, increasing competition in the shrinking market place, and Chrysler's too extended and too inefficient plant—in a few words, from the anarchy, waste and inefficiency of the capitalist productive process, planned not for social use but solely for profit.

Ottawa is already talking about hedging any bets it may gamble on Chrysler with bets on Massey-Ferguson which appears to be prepared to move into diesel engine production, and in Windsor where there is a skilled and available unemployed work force. Some 3,700 Chrysler workers are on indefinite layoff. If Chrysler doesn't make it, the engine plant which it has said it is planning to re-tool would be available. Massey-Ferguson, which recorded a loss of $257 million dollars (U.S.) last year, would of course anticipate an extensive handout of public funds.

That we should take over the idle plants, assess which of the Canadian people's needs can be produced efficiently, and commence to plan production in concert with those peoples elsewhere who are already planning their production for human use, is becoming not a choice but a necessity. Back in the capitalist crisis of the Thirties, the League for Social Reconstruction prepared a comprehensive treatise on the Canadian economy called **Social Planning for Canada**. J.S. Woodsworth, leader of the CCF, the precursor of the New Democratic Party, wrote in the introduction: "As we face the wide range of facts we cannot but realize the need, not for this or that particular 'reform,' but for a whole series of coordinated measures each forming part of a carefully worked out plan. Socialism begins to emerge not as a dream—pleasant or bad—but as an urgent necessity."

The facts are becoming obvious—social ownership of the basic means of production is increasingly urgent. Not handouts to the corporate welfare bums but public ownership of the idle plants and their retooling and production for public use according to plan! A serious start could be made by placing the Chrysler operations under public ownership so that the Windsor workers are not cut off from the tools with which they could make a living, and by giving serious consideration to the manufacturing of a car designed to meet Canadian needs.

04-05-4

Oh Canada

by Paul Kane

In the coming year, the NDP parliamentary leadership will be emphasizing "Made-in-Canada policies" according to an April 4 report by Broadbent coming out of the first post-election NDP caucus meeting. He stressed that they will be pressing what he called our "nationalist policies" in "precisely the same areas we emphasized in the recent elections."

This unexpected emphasis that surfaced during the elections was prsented, in the framework of an industrial strategy, as a popular, even left turn, in what was otherwise an unrelieved and abysmal "me-too" official campaign. Did this attempt to clue into the concerns of the electorate about U.S. imperialist domination of the declining Canadian economy and Canada's foreign policy block the party from being completely snowed under by the swing from the Tories to the Liberals, as some claim? At any rate, in the final weeks of the campaign the Liberals outflanked the official NDP campaign here too with their studied reticence to commit themsleves to Carter's Olympic Games boycott and their pushing Herbert Gray, specialist on U.S. corporate takeovers, up from Cabinet exile and now into Minister of Industry. The Tories were left out in right field, even outdoing Carter in his pro-U.S. cold war declarations, to go down to defeat in a revolving door exit from parliamentary power.

The party leadership's nationalist appeal is, on the surface, a startling turn in the policy that it has been following since the days when it settled accounts with the first broadly-based left-wing formation in the NDP—the Waffle. This sometimes-called "left-nationalist" formation in response to Liberal-Tory policies that blatantly express Canadian capitalist dependency on the U.S. imperialist colossus, urged a strategy of public ownership of the country's productive plant under the banner—"For an Independent and Socialist Canada."

The Waffle's pressing for the autonomy of Canadian unions from the U.S.-based bureaucratized, pro-capitalist Democratic Party trade union machines, resulted in its being slandered, as was the nationalist Quebec Federation of Labor, with being splitters of pan-Canadian working class unity. With the Steelworkers brass very much in the forefront of the anti-Waffle drive, some such as NDP MP Grace MacInnis dispersed simple-minded lectures that this nationalism which called for public ownership and socialism, had reactionary and even fascist implications.

The NDP leadership's policy is a turn, but not a reversal or an adoption of the Waffle position. It is hitting out at the dependent character of the Canadian economy but not at all at its essential capitalist character in which its dependency is rooted. It is nationalist, but lacks the fundamental class essence or content of the socialist projection of the Waffle.

The industrial strategy as projected by the NDP party leadership, instead of advancing the concepts of public or social ownership, projects the illusion of an independent Canadian capitalist economy in the midst of the developing crisis of the world capitalist economy, with publicly financed supplementary support-corporations and without even a hint of industrial democracy through trade union and workers control.

"Our aim as democratic socialists is to build an independent socialist Canada. Our aim as supporters of the NDP is to make it a truly socialist party.

"The achievement of socialism awaits the building of a mass base of socialists, in factories and offices, on farms and campuses. The development of socialist consciousness, on which can be built a socialist base, must be the first priority of the NDP.

"The NDP must be seen as the parliamentary wing of a movement dedicated to fundamental social change. It must be radicalized from within and it must be radicalized from without." (from the Waffle Manifesto, October 1969.)

■ ■ ■

The March/April issue of **This Magazine** contains two articles of particular importance and value to Marxists.

Roger Rolfe comments on a previous statement by ex-Waffle leader Mel Watkins titled "Where is the Waffle Now that We Need it?" which was in part a response to a critique of **This Magazine**, and its associates, for abstentionism from the real processes of the class struggle. Watkins turns the bulk of his regular column over to Rolfe.

Rolfe challenges Watkins to explain "why an organization eighteen hundred strong in Ontario just collapses in eighteen months. And dredging up the Trotskyist bogy—something that was done ad nauseum in the Waffle to crush political debate, and something that Mel does again in his article—won't float either."

Rolfe stresses the need for an international solution to the developing capitalist crisis, which he suggests leaves "both the Waffle's economic anaysis and its political analysis far behind. 'Internationalism' was a synonym for 'Trotskyism' in the Waffle, and like the latter took on a certain supernatural demonic quality in the waffle lexicon."

Rolfe scores the independent left for continuing "to grasp at the straw that socialist initiatives will somehow spontaneously erupt from a burgeoning workers movement," and stresses that "what is needed is a socialist presence in and around these struggles, supported by a developing socialist movement. We must not exaggerate the room available to advance our politics and we must not do it in an entrist (sic) or opportunist fashion. But we must bury the notion that there is no real room at all."

Watkins only touches on one or two matters raised by Rolfe. While expressing uncertainty about certain things that should be done, in his short reply, he stresses his certainty about some things that should not be done. He states that "the essence of the Waffle was its linking of the national question and the class question...denial of the linkage denies the raison d'être of the Waffle."

One of the things that should not be done is "to try to create a new political formation that while socialist is not nationalist. Among other things it won't fly. Nor should it. Notwithstanding Rolfe's sentimental appeal to 'internationalism,' the Canadian working class is going to have to deal with the economic crisis within the context of the real world of nation states. The alternative to doing so is not 'socialist planning on a world scale'—whatever that could possibly mean in the '80s—but a further drift into corporate 'planning' on a North American scale."

The other notable article, sparked by the USSR's intervention in Afghanistan and the U.S. State Department's Cold War Carter Doctrine, is the most developed statement that we have seen of the editors' concept of the world political situation. Reasons of space compel us to hold the matter over for our next issue. Copies of **This Magazine** can be obtained for $1.25 each from Forward Books, 121 Church St., Toronto.

Forward financial drive deadline set for June 1

Canadian Dimension, the most broadly circulated journal of the Canadian left, may be headed into stormy waters. Although completely independent of government grants or party affiliation, Revenue Canada has just stripped it of the registered charitable status it has held for three years. Donations to help sustain it will no longer be tax deductable. The impact this will have on its supporters, who must be finding it increasingly difficult to contribute the $15,000 to $20,000 a year it receives, is hard to forecast. Editor Cy Gonick is asking the Federal Court of Appeal to overturn Revenue Canada's decision.

Briarpatch, a Prairie environmental, community organization monthly magazine, was cut off one year ago from all government and organization funding. This month it is celebrating "with cautious optimism" its first full year on its own.

Forward, which unabashedly declares that its aim is to help build a class struggle socialist left in Canada's mass labor party, the NDP, is launching its drive to accumulate the funds it requires to keep operational for the next year. **Forward** has never had any governmental or organization funding, recognition from Revenue Canada that made donations to it tax deductable, or even special mailing rates. Since its launching, **Forward** has had to pay the full shot. It has been on its own.

It has been completely dependent on freely submitted articles, the understanding and good will of its readers who subscribe to it and get others to do likewise, and who on top of that contribute what they can to the $5,000 minimum pool of funds that it must have by June 1st.

The efforts that its present small band of supporters are putting behind **Forward** cannot be allowed to falter or fail. They must be freed from the pettiness of the financial worries that its now all-too-limited efforts entail and be allowed to think in terms of bigger projects that will further the liberatory socialist cause. Everyone can make a contribution. None is too small. Send yours in now—cheque or money order—to **Forward**, Box 778 Adelaide Street Post Office, Toronto M5C 2K1.

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forward (42) JULY 1980

Unions hit paper empires as strikes spread cross East

fo Vol. 6 No.

Inside This Issue
Special Supplement
on RCMP
"dirty tricks" and
Government cover-up

07-01-1

by P. Kent

As we go to press virtually all the major pulp and paper mills in Ontario, Quebec and the Atlantic provinces are on the verge of being closed down. In the front ranks of the struggle are 6,000 members of the Canadian Paperworkers Unions who have struck the world's largest newsprint producer, the far flung operations of Abitibi-Price Incorporated.

Negotiations for a new contract broke down when the company arrogantly bypassed the union, which represents over 40,000 in Eastern pulp and paper, by taking its offer directly to the workers at the Soo, and Smooth Rock Falls in Ontario, and Grand Falls in Newfoundland.

This resulted in the organization of protest study sessions. A considerable wage increase to catch up from the old Trudeau government's imposed wage freeze, and COLA clause protection from inflation are key demands. After first offering a two-year contract, the company suddenly switched to a three-year offer without the protection of a COLA clause. The company's offer of a 19% increase in response to the union's demand of 19% for the first year and 9.9% for the next two years was rejected by an 82% vote.

Abitibi was one of the six pulp and paper corporations that this spring received hefty grants from the Ontario Tory government to prod them into modernizing their operations to meet pollution standards that they have been violating. It was handed its 22.5 million dollar share in what NDP leader Cassidy called a 140 million dollar demonstration of "welfare capitalism."

The biggest struck Abitibi operations is at Port Alfred, Quebec, which employs 1,000. Abitibi's Kenogami mill, where the CPU represents the papermakers, has also been struck by those workers represented by the Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU).

The CNTU, which this time is seeking to win an industry-wide settlement, has also struck the big 1,000 worker Consolidated Bathurst operation in Port Alfred, the Canadian International Paper operation in La Tugue, two small mills of St. Raymond Paper Ltd., and other operations. The struggle may be harsh and long. As the CPU bargaining committee chairman, Curley, noted: "the cost of living clause is vital to our members." CPU president Lorrain stated that, the parallel offers of the various corporations show they were "cooked up in the president's club of the Canadian pulp and paper industry."

Last month CLC President McDermott announced to the UAW convention in California that the CLC is organizing a six-union united front against Boise-Cascade to bring a victorious settlement to the fratricidal two-year old strike in Kenora and Fort Francis. The front behind the striking Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union will include the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Office and Professional Service Employees International Union, along with the International Woodworkers of America and the Canadian Paperworkers Union.

"They have an agreement that these unions will not sign a collective agreement with Boise-Casacade until all the unions there have a settlement, and that includes the Lumber and Sawmill Union strikers," according to CLC Director of Oganization Ed Johnston. While what is left of the U.S.-based United Paperworkers that did not go into the CPU broke the united front by signing an agreement for its 1,000 members at Boise-Cascade, the developing struggles against the pulp and paper bosses should strengthen any serious attempt to bring Boise-Cascade to heel. This will be the first serious attempt to translate the strong words of the CLC convention's collective action resolution into deeds.

forward (42) July 1980

02.01-2

What lurked behind the rush for Bill 89

by P. Kent

United Autoworkers members, the majority women, employed at Fleck Manufacturing in southwestern Ontario, succeeded in establishing their union local in the face of outright refusal by the company to recognize it. They won through mass action. Their picket lines were firmed up morning after morning by union and non-union militants from as far away as Toronto and Windsor, rallying in solidarity with their struggle.

Steelworker members at Radio Shack in Barrie succeeded in establishing their union local in the face of the determination of U.S. Tandy Corporation officials to get rid of it, "even if it costs us a million dollars." They won through picket line solidarity, steeling the union's core through struggle and pressuring government labor board officials to stand by their own regulations. While in a later phase of the Radio Shack struggle the compulsory dues checkoff did become an issue it was not the key issue, nor was it at Fleck, nor at an increasing number of other struggles in the recent period. Rather the problem has been the bosses' refusal to recognize a certification vote and to negotiate a first contract.

The struggles at Fleck and Radio Shack and thousands before them, were won without the Tory's Bill 89 amendments to the Ontario Labor Relations Act. Bill 89 has now passed into law, making the checkoff of union dues compulsory for everyone covered by collective agreements. And they were won without conceding any company interference in union internal affairs.

Bill 89 was passed into law because there was something for every one of the up-front parties in the dispute. The Tories, basking in the aura of initiating, writing, and getting it passed, with uncritical support of the package from the NDP parliamentary caucus and the union top brass, managed to shed some of their hard-edged anti-labor image. They also hoped to show that minority government, and a Tory one at that, is tolerable, and can even work for labor. The Liberals cunningly came through, with their anti-scab amendment, that would have prohibited anyone voting on a contract offer who the bosses took on the payroll after the beginning of a strike. They appeared as the staunchest defenders of unionism against scab-herding. But the NDP leadership came off as opportunists and compromisers, with the trade union brass giving credibility to the boss-inspired hate-Big-Labor propaganda. The trade union brass came through as a clique whose highest priority is guaranteed deduction of dues from workers' wages and its siphoning off into the treasuries that they control.

Together, they all agreed to take the workers' struggle out of the democratic arena of the shop floor, away from the picket lines and from the mass actions in the streets, and put it into the controlled corridors of bureaucratic power.

Trade union militants, while not opposed in principle to the compulsory dues checkoff as defence against the bosses' unremitting efforts to cripple unionism—opposed the bill—above all opposed its legitimatization of company interference in the internal affairs of the organized labor movement.

forward (42) July 1980

EDITOR: Wayne Roberts

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Corporate gamble with human stakes

by the Editors

As the world capitalist economy slips into decline and crisis the U.S. corporate elite are hedging their bets, cutting back here, holding or raising there, in their global game for profits. The economies of entire countries and the lives of entire peoples are their stakes.

Canada is particularly vulnerable to this monstrous game due to its high degree of built-in economic dependency on the United States. Branch plant extensions are a striking feature of its advanced industrial economy. Every day witnesses an increasing number of cutbacks in the largely U.S. corporate-owned industrial sector — from production for Canadian market and assigned parts of the world market, to warehousing, then shutdown. In some cases the crisis that is built into their system had led the U.S. capitalists to cut back or close plants in their home base itself, which have been so ruthlessly bled as to render them outmoded and uncompetitive, and to increasingly concentrate on new projects in the neo-colonial world.

For the first time since 1954 — 26 years ago — real output across the Canadian economy in 1980 will be less than it was the year before. From a heretofore unseen "stagflation", a condition of economic stagnation, massive unemployment that effectively froze wages, and mounting inflation, the economy is now going into a decline with even the most conservative statisticians projecting more cruel inflation and more widespread unemployment. Despite the reduction of the active labor force through induced retirement and policies that discourage youth and women from even entering the work force, ever-increasing numbers are being injected into the ranks of the unemployed. And they are not from the more marginal and fragile sectors of the economy but from what have long been the most stable, vital and key sectors. With 11 auto plants closing in Ontario since February, some 30,000 autoworkers have swollen the unemployed ranks in Ontario into a contingent of 400,000 in an army of over 904,000 who can't find jobs in Canada.

It is ironic that at the same time as the capitalist system is slipping into a profound crisis, the NDP leadership in hardest-hit Ontario proposed and was able to win a convention majority for an industrial strategy that places the party in the same camp as the Tory and Liberal capitalist parties — as a supporter of limited government intervention within the framework of a free market economy.

As we witness corporate giants going into bankruptcy, the NDP leadership is joining the tinkerers who, with a patch here or there,

continued on page 2

Public ownership

continued from page 1

hope to make the system work. Such a policy is not working for the Social Democratic leaders when in office in Sweden, West Germany and Britain, and the NDP leadership won't be able to make the case that essentially the same policies would work here, even under their direction.

Those who once ridiculed the "corporate welfare bums" for their apparent inability to meet the basic needs of the working people without endless government handouts such as tax write-offs, highly subsidized loans and free grants, tinkerings which failed to touch the heart of the problem, are seemingly themselves now prepared to open the public treasury to the grant monopolists, without restrictions and on a permanent basis.

The Regina Manifesto, with which the CCF, the precursor of the NDP, was launched, had this to say about the depression in 1933: It said that it was a "sign of the mortal sickness of the whole capitalist system, and this sickness cannot be cured by the application of salves. These leave untouched the cancer which is eating at the heart of our society, namely, the economic system in which our natural resources and our principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated for the private profit of a small portion of our population. No CCF government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commenwealth."

A first movement in that direction would not be loans to the Chrysler Corportion about whose future even the Tory government is so sceptical as to tie them to the structuring of research and development facilities in Windsor. Chrysler's Canadian operation should be placed under public ownership with Chrysler indemnified, as a bankrupt, to the real value of the facilities there that could be retooled for the production of a Canadian car designed and built to the specifications for use in Canada. That would be a beginning to a Cooperative Commonwealth, to a socialist Canada.

Support Ed Ziemba

Of all the NDP MPs, MPPs and MLAs in this country, one has tried to make use of the real possibilities of the NDP when it forms part of the parliamentary opposition. And that one person is not even allowed to speak from his elected seat in the legislature, in large part because of his fellow NDP MPPs.

Ed Ziemba, the provincial member for High Park-Swansea, has already established a reputation for what some shudder is an "unparliamentary" use of his office to expose doctors who have billed OHIP for more than $100,000 per year, to lay fraud charges against a corrupt medical laboratory, and to publicize the efforts of hardpressed strikers at Radio Shack in Barrie. For these "offences," he has been jailed twice, and sentenced to one year's probation. Of parliamentary immunity, he knows very little. Now he has been denied speaking rights in the Ontario legislature for refusing to play the game of parliamentarians' immunity from real criticism.

NDP MPP and House Speaker Jack Stokes refused to recognize Ziemba for the remainder of the last parliamentary session, because Ziemba charged that two Conservative MPPs had their victories arranged through patronage appointments, which cleared their ridings of prestigious Liberal incumbents. Stokes, co-opted like Governor-General Schreyer into a symbolic position of authority, imposed a session-long ruling against Ziemba, which was considerably harsher than the normal one-day penalty for refusing to apologize for "offensive" remarks, which everyone knows to be true. Yet NDP MPPs joined with the Tories to defeat a Liberal appeal against the harshness of this ruling. Further, Ed Phillips, NDP MPP and chairman of the Justice Committee, of which Ziemba is vice-chairman, denied Ziemba the right to speak in committee. When he found out about this, Ziemba stormed: "The least he could do as a fellow New Democrat was to tell me he would not recognize me...and not humiliate me in front of my colleagues this way."

An NDP source told the **Star** on June 4 that Ziemba "may be right in his accusations, but House rules are House rules."

Is parliament some sacred and neutral body, sovereign unto itself and an end unto itself? Or is it not rather an instrument devised by lords and capitalists who exercise real authority through corporate board rooms and unelected state bureaucracies? Is it by following parliamentary house rules and norms, which were established long before the rise of the democratic franchise and which have served to take the wind out of militant oppositionists while giving a full vent to windbags on the government bench, that the NDP can present itself as an alternative to the people of Ontario?

Ziemba seems to have decided on another course. He has called the house a "gentleman's club," and plans to serve his constituency without submitting to the rules of a gentlemen's debating society. And his point has hit home with a number of his constituents, including housewife Aretta Smyth. Ziemba is, she said, "a breath of fresh air in the dusty world of politics, and I say more power to him. The thing I like about him is that he doesn't represent big business. He says what he thinks and it's nice to hear for a change. Politics is such a dirty game."

Instead of legitimitizing the expulsion of Ziemba, the NDP caucus could better have served working people by defending Ziemba and defending the right of elected representatives to use the legislature to make charges, demand investigations, and expose the government.

forward (42) July 1980 — Page 1

07_01[2]4a

Secret record of RCMP 'dirty tricks'

by Ross Dowson

What we now know of the cold facts of Operation Checkmate is revealed in almost 750 pages of the "Top Secret" material released in late April by the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the RCMP, headed by Judge McDonald, heavily censored and carefully "sanitized", is sketchily outlined in what are designated as 14 Cases. While there are three cases numbered, 7, 8 and 14, without any explanation there is no information at all supplied on them. Information appears at several points in the record about an operation to seize a file of material from a "target" taking it through the streets of an unnamed Canadian city or town from one location to another. Possibly this operation is not separated out and numbered because its planners, reluctantly, had to scrap it when local officers expressed serious doubts about implementing it.

Although Operation Checkmate is said to be merely a continuation of two previous operations, about which there are no details at all — Operation Tent Peg (1969-71) and Operation Oddball (April 1971 to September 1972) — Operation Checkmate officially spanned the period from September 1972 to December 1973. Why the RCMP top brass ended this continuum in December 1973, although there is doubt that it actually did so except in the sense of it taking on a different tempo or form, is not explained.

The files on the Checkmate Operations were destroyed in 1974 and 1975 and over a period April to June of 1977, that is, shortly after the notorious Operation Ham and Operation Oddjob became public knowledge and RCMP "wrongdoings" became a matter of wide public concern.

Since the entire documentary evidence of this intensive nationwide operation has been reduced to what was referred to as Exhibit MC-78 the sessions were to a considerable degree dependent on the memories of the RCMP officers who were responsible for or who carried out the "dirty tricks". None of the victims, designated as "targets", were called or allowed to appear before this secret hearing and insofar as RCMP testimony was questioned or challenged it was entirely dependent on the ability and the desire of the lawyers representing the RCMP and the Commission itself.

When asked if 14 cases were all that took place Officer Yaworski stated that he recalls 14 but they were really only illustrative — not all of the "dirty tricks". "There were others," he said, "but I can't recall them." The criteria used for selecting just these 14 from all of the other RCMP cases was not revealed.

Only three persons and two organizations are named in the heavily-censored record — all but one appearing in Case 13. It is possible that this case was instrumental in the RCMP's even admitting the existence of the entire Operation Checkmate, for Case 13 deals with the information that became public knowledge when the RCMP admitted forging and distributing letters that were brought to the attention of the Krever Commission on the Security of Ontario Health Records. The forged letters involved three activists of the now defunct League for Socialist Action, one of them, its leading spokesman, Ross Dowson, whose widely known slander suit against the RCMP has won the support of leading trade unionists, socialists and civil libertarians both in Canada and internationally. The other named organization is the Communist Party in Case 2.

While the LSA and the CP are named it would appear obvious from the available evidence that Checkmate was directed against many prominent individuals and took into its target-area the NDP, its left wing Waffle, Maoist organizations and other organizations, including cultural and religious organizations that are sometimes designated by witch hunters as peripheral to the Left and "fronts".

Case 1 was directed against a person who was a member of an unnamed organization and a "very influential member" of an unnamed "front" in which a profound dispute was taking place, neither of which "was going to erupt into violence." It involves the RCMP's manipulation of the mass media.

Case 2 where the Communist Party is actually named — about which there is "no suspicion that this party is going to erupt into violence." It involves a foreign-born person, employed by a significant but unnamed firm and a member of an unnamed party, knowledge of which it is admitted would normally compromise his obtaining the Canadian citizenship he is seeking. The following synopsis by a McDonald Commission lawyer was agreed to by a top RCMP officer: "So, the operation was that the Security Service would not place on record the security objection it would normally have raised with the Citizenship people, so that he would obtain his citizenship rather speedily; as he had not in the past; and this would raise in his confreres' minds some concern as to why he had this time obtained his citizenship."

The rapid granting of his citizenship was designed to compromise him in the eyes of his co-thinkers, and at the same time make it possible to recruit him as an RCMP informer on an unnamed foreign government

→ to page 2

RCMP FLQ secret agent Carole Devault, code name Poupette [doll].

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While Cases 1 and 2 may possibly involve RCMP interference in the internal affairs of the CP and the personal lives of members of this completely legal political party, Case 4 and possibly Case 3 may involve RCMP intervention in the NDP and/or the trade union movement.

Case 3 involves a man who the RCMP considers to be a prominent and influential politician which probably places him in the membership of the NDP, possibly the Liberals or even the Tories. But the RCMP alleges that this unnamed person had been and still is a secret member of an unnamed organization. The operation mounted with the sole purpose of informing unnamed persons or organizations of this allegation was not effective. Officer Yaworski testified that "the news did not come as a surprise" to the persons the RCMP informed. The RCMP further intervened to stop the unnamed politician from winning a post on an important government committee that concerned them—although they admitted that their red-baiting had nothing to do with the possibility of "sensitive" information coming before that committee, that is, endangered "national security."

Case 4 involves a letter forged by the RCMP over a forged signature of a person on a leading body of an unnamed organization. This forgery was circulated at an event of some importance to whip up fear that a leading person was also a member of another unnamed organization. This resulted in sufficient pressure to force the resignation of the unnamed person from the leading body of the unnamed organization. There is evidence to believe that this refers to a forged communication circulated at a mass rally of NDPers, most of them supporters of its Waffle left-wing, and involving a prominent person on its leading body.

Case 5 involves a person of international reputation, head of an unnamed business or institution, possibly even a charitable organization or religious formation perhaps involved in supporting the African anti-apartheid struggle, with considerable funds at its disposal and with "contacts all over the world." According to RCMPer Chisholm "the economics of how this organization was running was our major concern."

The RCMP decided to forge an income tax return, forge the target's name to it and file it in anticipation that the Department of Revenue would see cause to investigate it and "hopefully also lead to a prosecution against" this unnamed person. "In this prosecution," testified RCMPer Yaworski, "I had rather hoped that we would obtain a clearer insight into the source of his revenues."

The RCMP had a source (spy) with sufficient connections to be confident that no income tax form had already been filed and with sufficient access to information to draw up what would appear to be a valid but nonetheless faulty return to the Department of Revenue. The source was able to inform the RCMP that the Department of National Revenue actually did contact the no-doubt astonished and troubled unnamed person, but took no legal action. Yaworski volunteered that the RCMP investigation of the unnamed person continues to this day.

Case 6 involved a complicated action where the RCMP (Yaworski himself) forged a letter containing a summary of recent activities of an unnamed person (1) which it addressed to another unnamed person (2) presumably staying at a hotel. An RCMPer falsely registered at the hotel as (2) in order to pick up the RCMP's own forged letter, which along with a covering letter forged in (2)'s name, he sent along to a publication thought to be interested in its contents in the hope that it would publish it. It did not do so.

Cases 7 and 8 have been withheld without explanation. **Case 9** involves the RCMP's intimidation of the custodians of an unnamed, possibly a lodge, church or trade union hall, in order to deprive a targeted group of renting it and using it for a study group by alleging, via arranged telephone calls to those in charge, that the group's "aims included use of violence to achieve its political aims." When the RCMP was contacted and formally queried by the hall's custodians, the RCMP sent around an officer to assure them that the allegations, which they themselves had planted, were true.

Case 10 involves the pollution of the gas tank and demobilization of a car owned by a targetted person so that he and an important visitor would be forced to use an informant and his car that had been already bugged.

Case 11, involving RCMP intimidation of an unnamed person, was so crude as to cause Commissioner McDonald himself to protest that the RCMP had actually "exiled" the unnamed person from the country. The RCMP had an agent make a series of phone calls to Y that a former ally of his in an unnamed organization, X, was threatening his life. The RCMP subsequently approached Y, affirming the danger of X's threats, which they themselves fabricated, and offering and actually giving him an airline ticket back to his country of origin. Y accepted the ticket and fled from Canada.

Case 12 involves the interception by the RCMP, through information obtained by an agent, that mail for a targetted organization was being held at a bus depot. An RCMPer misrepresented himself, claimed the correspondence which, when it was found to be of no use to the RCMP, was destroyed.

Case 13 involves the RCMP's forging of letters and their circulation at a youth convention of the now defunct League for Socialist Action. While obviously based on the record of the Ontario Royal Commission, the RCMP testimony at the McDonald Commission repeats the slanders that Dowson rebutted before Justice Krever that the organization and those associated with it had been and he, as its leading spokesman was, and along with those associated with him today, is "violence prone" and "subversive." Incidentally, an admission was also made of something not heretofore known—that the French letters circulated in Montreal and Toronto were also forged by the RCMP and that Officer Yaworski himself had a major hand in the forging of the English letters.

This scandalous campaign of RCMP "dirty tricks", justified by "dangerous thoughts" allegedly held by its victims, could only sweep up an ever-widening number into its range, and thereby tend to create a total climate of repression in the country. The fact that the objective situation at the time gave little to sustain it (the Watergate exposures were at their peak) blocked the logic of this development.

Nonetheless dozens of legitimate organizations, a wide number of their supporters and an incalculable number of others suffered from these violations of civil rights. Such violations require a complete exposure, and appropriate action to deter repetition, above all when its perpetrators are the very forces who the state has given the function to, as the RCMP's motto reads, "Uphold the Right."

The RCMP's violations of the law in the course of Operation Checkmate involve among others: conspiracy to violate the rights of Canadians as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, fraud, private and public mischief, communicating false messages, criminal slander, attempted assault, threatening bodily harm, etc, etc.

The individual violators should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. But the process cannot stop there. Those who gave direction and who promoted and condoned such crimes right up to the highest level of governmental and state power should not be allowed to scapegoat others, but must themselves be placed in the dock before public opinion!

Ross Dowson suing RCMP for slander.

forward (42) July 1980 — Page 1

07-01-75a

Vicious concept of thought control behind RCMP Operation Checkmate

Conspiracy to smash

by Ross Dowson

With the McDonald Commission's release of four volumes of heavily censored testimony on the long suppressed RCMP Operation Checkmate late in April, the continuing exposures of the RCMP's violations of Canadians' civil rights revealed an even more sinister visage than ever before. What have become known as "dirty tricks" were nothing more nor less than a highly organized campaign, backed by the full resources of the state, to harrass, disrupt, and if possible to destroy a number of completely legitimate organizations innocent of violating even the slightest law or regulation governing this country.

Since no legal ground whatsoever for this calculated assault on the civil rights of the targetted organizations and persons associated in any way with them could be established, those who inspired Checkmate and who saw to it that it was carried out were compelled to resort to the infamous fascistic concept that, no matter their declared views and no matter their real actions, the "targets" were guilty of "dangerous thoughts", held "in secret" but known to those in authority.

With Operation Ham, unravelled after an inadvertent revelation by a junior officer, you might have thought the scandals had peaked. Ham involved an illegal break-in, the entry and the theft of a computerized membership list of the completely legal political party now in government in Quebec, the Parti Quebecois, after five months of meticulous planning involving hundreds of constables and support forces carried off without the slightest knowledge of either the custodians or the owners of the tapes.

But then just a few months back there was the testimony of a former RCMP agent before the Keable Commission. At any time they might have chose to do so, the RCMP could have arrested the entire membership of the terrorist FLQ, about 30 to 35 members, through their own agents who actually set up and who actually controlled FLQ cells. The RCMP purposely took no action against one person who she swore was an actual participant in the kidnapping of British Trade Minister Cross. Ottawa used this situation to declare that the country was faced with an impending insurrection which required the imposition from coast to coast of the totalitarian War Measures Act. With that you might have concluded that revelations of RCMP infamy could only go down — from here on in.

But now we know through the McDonald Commission's release of this testimony from the top RCMP officers who planned and who saw to the implementation of Operation Checkmate what some had all along suspected to be an indisputable fact — that the RCMP carried out a series of actions, spanning a period from 1969 to December 1973, against a wide range of individuals, groups and political parties, designed to intimidate them, disrupt them and if possible to destroy them.

Whatever the impact this sinister RCMP campaign had on its "targets" and the health of democratic rights in Canada, the release of this testimony and testimony supplementing it found a victim—a few days later in the suicide of a 30-year veteran and senior RCMP officer directly in charge of undercover sources in the mid-1970's — Inspector James Worrell. It has also resulted in widespread demoralization within the Security Service itself.

The aim of the operations, in the minds of those assigned to carry them out was noted in a memo of late 1970. It was from an unnamed member of a triumvirate headed by Superintendent S. Chisholm who was in charge of Operation Checkmate, in reference to a discussion that the former had just had with RCMP Director-General John Starnes. Its opening words read: "With the DG's wish in mind that this organization should be destroyed...."

The word "destroyed" was clarified in the testimony taken from Starnes himself by reference to a note he had sent somewhat earlier to a fellow officer..."with a view to neutralizing and isolating them and where appropriate destroying them."

What and who were the targets of the RCMP's isolate and destroy mission?

It is clear from the testimony, beyond even a shadow of doubt that these operations were not of an investigative nature against persons or organizations which might have been perceived as threats to "peace and order." They were not even as the RCMP hierarchy alleged them to be "countering actions" to the efforts of "subversives", who are defined in the Criminal Code as "advocates of force as a means of governmental change." And they were not directed against spies and agents of "foreign powers" compromising or threatening Canada's "national security."

The targetted individuals and groups were not guilty of any overt acts of an illegal character. This simple fact was a real and trouble-

→ to p. 2

Recognize him?

RCMP agent provocateur in the Black and Native movement, Warren Hart.

In 1971 the RCMP arranged to recruit a Black FBI agent, Warren Hart, to serve as an agent-provocateur in the Black and Native movements here. Inspector James Worrell acted as his handler for a period and was finally given the job of getting rid of him in 1975.

Worrell admitted before the McDonald Commission this spring, only three days before taking his own life, that he had advised Hart who was seeking Canadian citizenship, to return to the U.S. and to apply for immigrant status from there. He did not tell him he knew that RCMP officials, who back in 1971 had manipulated immigration authorities into arranging his deportation and his subsequent readmission in order to provide him with cover for his dirty work, on this occasion had already decided that immigration authorities would now see to his being barred.

According to Bill Wilson, United Native Nations president in B.C., Hart had offered, as late as 1975, to supply him unlimited quantities of high quality military equipment. In his testimony before the McDonald Commission Hart affirmed such charges and stated that the idea was to "set-up" the Indians so that the RCMP could later uncover the guns and the "violence prone" culprits in highly-publicized police raids.

With Hart having blown the RCMP's cover, Worrell tried to "blame" him for doing exactly what he had been hired to do — but this time in order to extend his own job opportunities. Worrell tried to give the RCMP some distance from Hart, no doubt an egotist and braggard. In his testimony before the commission he said that when Hart was out of the country on other assignments (in the West Indies) the activities of the groups which he had been assigned to infiltrate and stir into actions useful to the RCMP, "seemed to quieten down. It made us wonder", he said with a straight face, "whether this wasn't a self-perpetuating kind of thing."

The exposure of Hart and his role as an agent-provocateur in the Native and Black movements follows on the heels of the exposure of the RCMP's heavy infiltration, if not actual domination of the terrorist FLQ. There is little doubt that there will be further revelations.

legitimate political dissent

some problem for the RCMP, for if they were even thought on serious grounds to be guilty, charges could have been levelled against them and if found so, they could have been punished by law. Top RCMP officers such as Assistant Commissioner S. Chisholm who had been in overall charge of Checkmate testified that the law was "inadequate". Of course none admitted to breaking the law: it had been necessary, as he expressed it, to "develop novel means". John Starnes who had been the director general of Security Service saw "an inherent contradiction" between RCMP responsibilities to be discharged, and staying inside the law. Of course when in the unfolding of the testimony it became quite obvious that they actually had done so, the RCMP never admitted to breaking the law. As Superintendent Yaworski, officer in charge of staffing and the Personnel Branch of the Security Service phrased it, the RCMP acted not illegally but "wrong".

The formal aim of Operation Checkmate as declared by Commissioner Chisholm at the opening sessions were disruptive measures against "subversive" groups, aimed at the organizations to create confusion in their ranks, discredit their leadership and/or their programs, all with the purpose of turning their energies inward as much as possible, rather than outward to the community.

But as the hearings proceeded and the targets were revealed the term "subversive" became less and less used to describe them. At one point Starnes said "this happens to be in the field of dealing with organizations which were for want of a better word — subversive." Elsewhere he described Checkmate Operations as coming into play "where it was clearly seen that the purpose of an organization or individuals were at cross purposes with the maintenance of domestic stability, they should be neutralized."

While the immediate targets of Operation Checkmate remain unnamed except for two cases, it is apparent even from the heavily censored testimony that they had one general characteristic — a common ideology. While it had broader purposes, Operation Checkmate was directed against Marxism, against individuals, groups and organizations which actually declare themselves to be adherents of that theory and body of ideas, and others who with little or even no grounds could be labelled Marxists or any brand of Marxist — "quasi", "crypto" or "closet".

The RCMP has been acting as if the infamous Section 98, inserted in the Criminal Code to imprison the leaders of the Winnipeg General Strike and later top figures of the early Communist Party, had never been repealed.

The RCMP is not interested in the activities of its relatively small and isolated targets, where it could find nothing illegal. In their testimony before the commission the RCMP brass even conceded that the adherents of this ideology are not "agents of a foreign power". And they soon dropped all pretence that they constituted a danger to "national security." They were targetted in order to lay the grounds for taking on bigger targets.

By targetting groups on the basis of their ideology the RCMP could carry out its search, harass, and if possible, destroy mission on the grounds of what it alleges are the implications of their ideology — on the grounds of the dangerous thoughts of its adherents.

The simple outlawing of a body of ideas makes it relatively easy to justify the violation of the integrity of the anti-status quo mass movements such as the PQ, the organized labor movement, and the NDP that is based on it. The RCMP does not dare, at this time, to challenge the legitimacy of either the PQ or the NDP as political parties. In violation of these parties' own constitutional requirements of membership, the RCMP has assumed the authority to intervene and declare that some members of the NDP — the Waffle possibly, and certainly Trotskyists, and those it labels ex-Communists — are not legitimate members of the NDP, but "infiltrators".

The Saskatchewan Federation of Labor in its brief to the McDonald Commission declared that the trade union movement has been "implicitly branded" by the RCMP Security Forces "as subversive... It is clear to us, as a result of our direct experience," notes the brief, that the role of the Security system "is to protect the security of the status quo" and to "protect the present configuration of that (political) system." How else can one understand the RCMP building files on leading Toronto trade unionist Mike Lyons and others as reported elsewhere on this page.

The slander suit being conducted in my personal name against the RCMP is to help end the shameful situation where the federal police, under the direction and prompting of the government, can brand individuals and organizations at will as subversive, and act against them to deprive them and by implication the Canadian people as a whole, of their civil rights and the possibility of making social changes as in their democratic wisdom they see fit to do.

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07-01-6

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AMONG CANADIAN ORGANIZATIONS: the assembled delegates at the 10th Federal Convention of the NDP. The Law Union of Ontario 1979 Conference.

***Organizations listed for identification only.**

Grace Hartman, CUPE

Clayton Ruby, lawyer

Dr. James J. Endicott

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

We wish to indicate our support as concerned civil libertarians for the suit initiated by Mr. Ross Dowson, against the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. We understand that the purpose of this suit is to establish the legitimacy and legality of socialist thought in face of charges of "subversion" by the RCMP.

We believe that individuals have the right to express their views free of unwarranted and unsubstantiated allegations of subversion.

We believe that the charge of subversion has been used and is being used to justify intervention in the internal affairs and the harassment of such legal organizations as the New Democratic Party and the organized labour movement and we further believe that such activities threaten to whittle away at the democratic right to dissent in Canada.

Though we may not necessarily agree with the political views of Mr. Dowson, we do believe that the real test of a democracy is its ability to tolerate and respect individuals whose views may not coincide with those of the majority at any given time.

We are ticking off the appropriate box(es).

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forward (42) July 1980

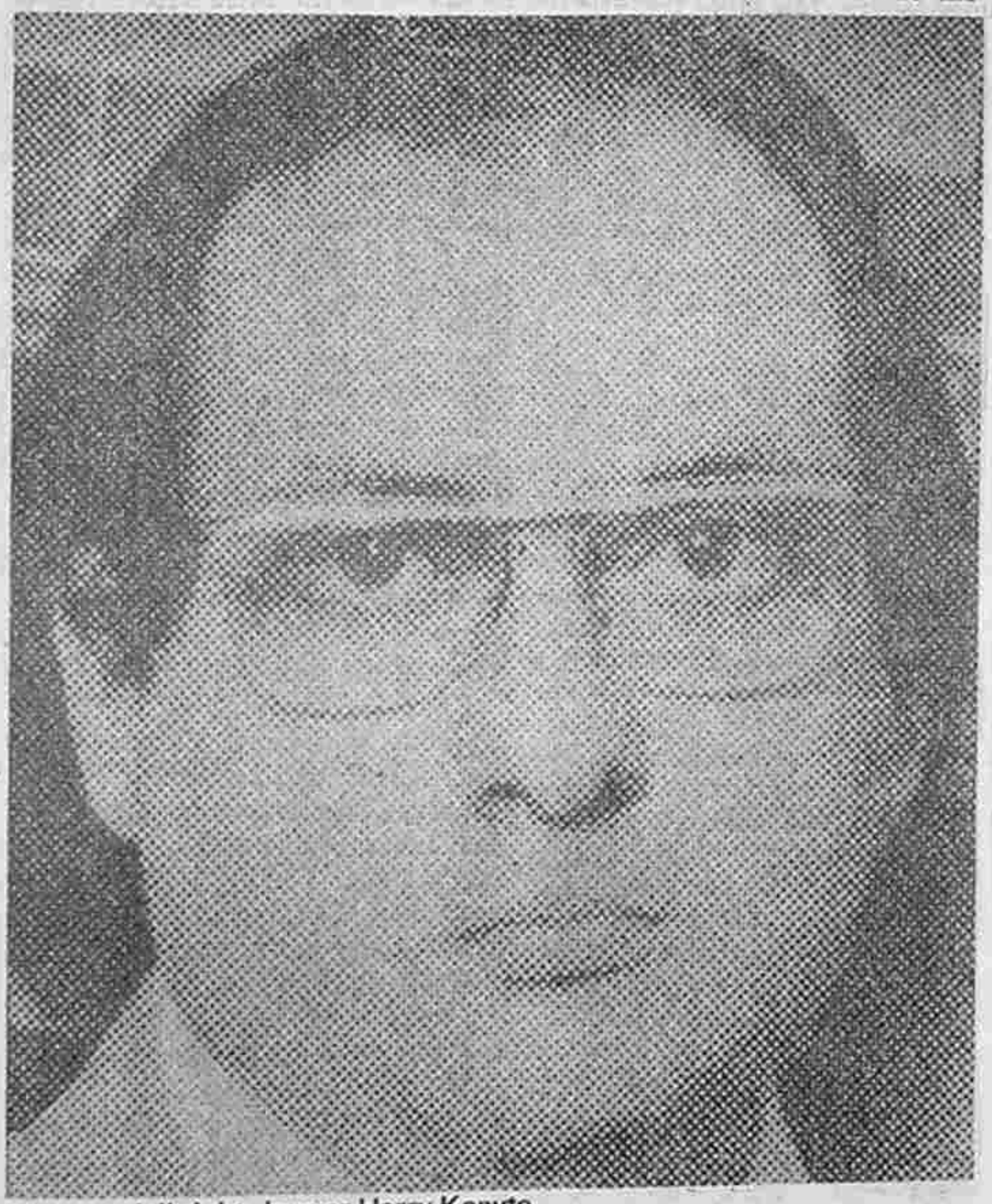
87-015-7

Key questions posed re Dowson suit

Lawyer barred by inquiry

Over the past year and a half, Ross Dowson, who has launched a half million dollar slander suit against the RCMP, and his lawyer, Harry Kopyto, have made public their desire to appear before the McDonald Commission of Inquiry into the RCMP, to be questioned, to question RCMPers testifying before it, and to present evidence for investigation. A formal appeal by Kopyto was met with an official decision by the Commission to exclude him.

On June 2, Kopyto appeared before a federal court judge to obtain a court order granting him the right to appear before the commission to question members of the RCMP, as well as former solicitor-general Francis Fox. It was on Fox's instructions that the RCMP made what Dowson considers to be slanderous statements that were released to the press by Ontario Attorney-General McMurtry and made in order to avoid revealing that the RCMP committed illegal acts against members and supporters of the NDP and the organized labor movement which supports it.



Toronto civil rights lawyer Harry Kopyto.

The RCMP claims to have only investigated members of the NDP who, it alleges, the party's left wing Waffle had invited to join—persons whom the RCMP labelled "ex-Communists", and members of the League for Socialist Action, a socialist educational group in the NDP and a part of Waffle, which the RCMP labelled as subversives i.e. "advocates of social change by violent and undemocratic means."

In late April the McDonald Commission released previously closed-door testimony, taken last fall from RCMP officials, of a nation-wide program of "dirty tricks", providing details of 12 of 15 cases they admitted committing against allegedly subversive groups and individuals under the code name Operation Checkmate. The highly censored testimony was scrubbed clean of all names of all persons with the exception of Case 13 which named Dowson, John Riddell and his wife, and of all names of targetted organizations except the League for Socialist Action of which both Dowson and the Riddells were leading activists, and in Case 2 where the name of the Communist party appears, possibly inadvertently.

The judge, on the appeal of the McDonald Commission's lawyer, J.J. Robinette, dismissed Kopyto's appeal on behalf of Dowson and Riddell, and found court costs against them.

forward (42) July 1980

07-01-57 8

Questions of unity and of sects

by P. Kent

Almost three years ago, this paper, published by socialist activists in the NDP, carried as information to its readers an article on the formation of the Revolutionary Workers League. This unification of two of the larger groupings on the left that call themselves Trotskyist, the majority of the longstanding League for Socialist Action (LSA) and an organization that arose later out of the youth radicalization, the Revolutionary Marxist Group, was hailed in its own press, **Socialist Voice** and its Quebec homologue **Lutte Ouvrière**, as holding out new possibilities of growth and the added perspective of further fusions, in particular with the largely Quebec Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs.

Ross Dowson, who had been a leader of the LSA until 1974, characterized this fusion as "more of an adventure" than an opening up of new possibilities for effective work for socialism in the mass movements of the Canadian workers, such as the NDP and the trade unions. In a letter that appeared in the following issue a **Forward** reader, after pointing out the RWL's sectarian position on the NDP, quoted one of its spokespersons to the effect that "questions of perspectives, tactics and style of work...are not and cannot be the essential political basis... in a common organization." Flouting all previous experiences of attempted unifications, formal agreement on certain fundamental principles rather than capacity to hammer out their application and development in the real world- was considered sufficient grounds by RWLers for this unification and an assurance of its success.

In very short order, the new organization was rife with factional conflict. Relations with the Quebec GST were broken off by a bitter internal dispute carried into the Canadian organizations from their respective international associations. Last year saw the leading bodies of the RWL torn apart and paralyzed; no tendency was capable of winning a working majority. After a continuing dissipation of forces, last month, following the RWL's third convention, all but three or four of the remaining ex-RMGers walked out. They have yet to issue a public statement, to publish a paper or declare the name of a new organization. In a note they left behind, they labelled the RWL not only a "shattered rump" but a "sect."

forward (42) JULY 1980

07_01_79

Doctors' Group reply to OHIP scandal

by Paul Kane

Medicare legislation became general across Canada following the breakthrough established by the Saskatchewan NDP-CCF government in 1962. The medical hierarchy's vicious opposition, openly challenging the authority of this legally elected government, forced some modifications in the plan. It was nonetheless hailed by many as the opening to the institution of cross-Canada health care, and the prelude to a transformation from the practice of curative to the practice of a genuine preventative medicine, without any monetary or class restrictions.

That qualitative turn has not taken place. Powerful forces ranging from the corpporate interests who dominate the drug, medical supplies, and equipment business, through to the administrators of the privately-owned and run hospitals, to the top brass of the doctors' medical associations and their supporters in such institutions as the Canadian Manufacturers Association and their political mouthpieces in the Liberal and Tory parties, have been blocking it and truncating it all the way.

Now with doctors who don't agree with the schedule of fee payments negotiated between the medical associations and the various provincial governments being allowed to opt out and to charge what the traffic will bear, medicare is in danger of collapse. Even though the Ontario Medical Association has set its own schedules over and above the OHIP agreement by 30%, opting out remains unabated. On top of that, there is the continuing deterioration of health care facilities due to the drastic cutbacks in government allocations.

Deterrent fees to the use of medical science have now been allowed to enter through the back door. In Ontario some 16-17% of all doctors have opted out so that they can double bill—using OHIP to guarantee payment and onto which they are adding a 30% to 40% supplement-paid in advance. In some communities nearly all doctors have opted out. Nearly one in four Metro Toronto doctors—1,039 physicians are now out. The overwhelming majority of specialists in Ontario-ranging from 84.7% of all anaesthesiologists, to 50.6% of the psychiatrists have opted out.

This deterioration has not taken place without opposition within the medical profession itself. A group, now composed of 150 doctors and health care workers calling itself The Medical Reform Group of Ontario, held its first annual convention last month. It urges that doctors not in the plan should not have the right to use OHIP as partial payment of the bills they charge their patients, but to opt out completely. They propose that opted-out doctors should be denied the use of publically-funded hospital facilities. They advocate that doctors should negotiate fees with the government in the same way as unions negotiate salaries—through collective bargaining, and if no settlement is reached—with binding arbitration.

The Toronto Board of Health came under sharp attack from OMA spokesmen this month for its decision not to hire doctors who have opted out of OHIP. The OMA general council, by a vote of 259-1, has called on all doctors, whether in or out, to boycott work for the city health body. The city council's executive committee has endorsed the board's policy urging all civic departments to avoid hiring opted-out doctors and it has won the acclaim of the Medical Reform Group and the Registered Nurses Association of Ontario. In reply to OMA charges that oped-out physicians are being discriminated against as if they were some sort of social outcasts, the Toronto board chairman replied, "But let's talk about the civil rights of the citizens. Universal access to the medicare system is a basic right and once it's compromised, the whole value of medicare is compromised." The Canadian Labour Congress is urging that health care be financed by taxation rather than by voluntary payment of premiums.

from the Globe & Mail

Forward classes discuss economics for socialists

In Canada, we find ourselves enmeshed in a serious debate within the NDP over the issue of a strategic program. The reformist leadership, adheres to the now-discredited concepts of mixed economy, better management of the capitalist state, and "nationalization if necessary but not necessarily nationalization." Critical and class-conscious socialists, on the other hand, seek public ownership of the commanding heights of the Canadian economy under a system of workers' control in a workers' state.

In response to this growing debate, the Forward Group undertook a class series on Marxist Economic Theory in Toronto this spring. The classes were based on the book **Marxist Economics for Socialists—A Critique of Reformism** by a British Marxist activist, John Harrison. The book was chosen because it was directed to Labour Party members.

Utilizing the structure of the book, the classes were divided into three parts.

The first class was presented by Harry Kopyto, active in the Wilson Heights NDP riding. He focussed on the debate between Proudhon and the young Marx. Marx had concentrated on a scientific analysis of capitalist economy in order to politically criticize the "bourgeois socialists" led by Proudhon, and to demonstrate that the objective nature of capitalist social relations are unequal and coercive and cannot be reformed.

The second talk, presented by Ellie Kirzner, a socialist activist from St. Andrew-St. Patrick NDP, dealt with the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism. She reviewed the progressive role of early capitalism, which laid the foundation for expanding the productive forces. She also described how capitalism began to provide sufficient surplus to create relatively privileged categories of workers, who became the basis of a new type of reformism, whose chief theoretician was Edward Bernstein, an ex-Marxist German social-democrat.

Bernstein argued that monopolies could overcome the crises that came from capital accumulation and declining profitability, because he believed in the monopolies' ability to mitigate these effects through planning and cartels. The fallacy of his position was pointed out by Lenin and demonstrated by the fierce capitalist competition that led to wars and revolutions.

The last class was given by Gord Doctorow of Oriole riding, and centred on the period referred to as "late capitalism", from 1945 to the present. Post-war reformism had a

"A mixed economy, Parsons, means profits."

new lease on life, with two decades of unprecedented and unbroken expansion of the world's capitalist productive forces. Keynes' theory of government management of the economy to prevent crises became incorporated into the ideological baggage of social democrats, like the pro-capitalist theoretician Anthony Crosland of the British Labour Party (who greatly influenced the leaders of the CCF in Canada).

Social Democratic theory assumed the state could be used as a neutral instrument of planning. Its goal was the redistribution of wealth. It seemed that the Marxist notion of crises stemming from over-accumulation and from the class struggle was outmoded.

The class concluded with a discussion of the serious new problems facing the world capitalist economies and the inability of reformist schemes to meet them. It stressed the significance of the left-right debates taking place in social-democratic and labour parties around the world, especially in the NDP in Canada. The success of this class series has led to the scheduling of another class based on Wallace Clement's book **Continental Corporate Power.** For information on this and future classes, call Forward at (416) 366-2059 or write c/o **Forward.**

Fund Drive bogs down *Forward* needs a hand

by the Editors

Forward's modest fundraising goal of $5,000 for the next year's publishing schedule requires an immediate response from our supporters. To date, we have only managed to garner pledges and funds totalling $2,000.

Ironically, the paper has been getting an excellent response in the form of new subscriptions and in public distributions. But this has yet to be matched by a comparable response in terms of financial solidarity.

No doubt part of the problem lies in the fact that we have only published one appeal to our readers — in the April-May issue. The long delay in the publishing of this issue of **Forward** is a result of our inability to publish in time for the ONDP Convention in June because of our staff members' heavy involvement in pre-convention preparations and discussions.

So we appeal to you, our readers, to take a moment right now, as you are reading this column, to send us a cheque or money order to **Forward**, Box 778, Adelaide St. Post Office, Toronto, Ont., M5C 2K1.

Remember, **Forward** is our collective paper speaking for socialism in the NDP, labor and other movements for social justice. Our small staff's efforts to continue the organizing and production of **Forward** speaks to the interests of massive numbers. We need your help. Please help now.

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forward (43) Oct.-Nov. 1980

10-11-2

RCMP criminals cleared by lawmen

by Ross Dowson

Ontario Attorney-general Roy McMurtry has used his authority to block the first and only attempt, so far, to lay charges against the RCMP for violating the law in the course of its infamous "thought control" "Operation Checkmate." When the October 30 hearing before Toronto Justice of Peace Allen convened, after four previous delays granted on his department's request, McMurtry ended the charade by formally ordering a stay of proceedings.

With Judge Allen's compliance to this diktat, civil rights lawyers Kopyto and Copeland announced an appeal to the Supreme Court of Ontario slated for November 26.

The initiative to lay charges against the RCMP was taken this April after over a year's failure on the part of the Ontario attorney-general's office, which is responsible for the enforcement of the Criminal Code, to act on the RCMP's admission before the Krever Commission to having broken the law. Senior RCMP officials confessed there to the federal police having forged and circulated letters which Dowson had brought to the attention of the Commission.

Civil rights lawyer Paul Copeland challenged McMurtry's subsequent delaying interventions at Judge Allen's hearings, before even a prosecution could get under way, as violating the rights of citizens to initiate a criminal charge. Now, McMurtry's stay of proceedings, thought to be without precedent, compromises the entire concept of private citizen's rights before the courts.

While McMurtry's stay first and foremost takes the heat off the RCMP for its violations of the law, it has many other far-reaching implications. One part of the 22-page directive, while not challenging that the two named RCMPers were senior officers, notes that they were acting on orders from even more senior officers: "... with respect to those who were senior or superior to the named potential accused, their involvement and the fact that they will not be prosecuted," the order reads, "is a factor which mitigates against prosecuting the named potential accused."

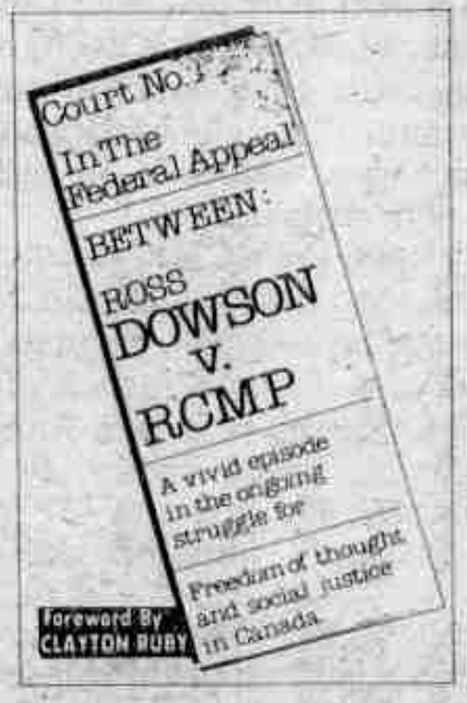
Kopyto told the press that he believed this to be the most insidious part of McMurtry's move. "What he has done with this is throw out the whole Nuremberg decision." Nazies accused of war crimes before Allied judges at Nuremberg were not allowed to clear themselves of responsibility because they had "only followed orders," from a higher level, as did Eichmann with his claim that he had only supplied the wagons that delivered Hitler's victims to the incinerators.

Thus the Attorney-general's stay of proceedings clears the way for continuing RCMP illegalities at the very same time as the McDonald Commission, early this fall, expressed concern that the RCMP may still be illegally getting confidential personal information from unemployment insurance files. According to a brief prepared for the commission, the flow of information to the RCMP and possibly other police forces has "remained essentially unchanged."

McMurtry excused his department's failure to act and his barring of others from acting as even being in the interests of those seeking to lay charges, because the accused, notwithstanding the facts, may be acquitted and a precedent set. At the same time he indulged in the old buck-passing game employed by various levels of the state machinery. He scores the federal government for closing its eyes to obvious breaking of the law, for its failure despite many expressions of intent, to solve the so-called inherent contradiction between the alleged upholding of the law by apparent commissions of crimes. He scored RCMP officials, who were not even in jeopardy, for refusing to cooperate with OPP investigations. He accused Ottawa of continuing to withhold information despite assurances from Solicitor-general Kaplan that they had received all evidence.

His brief specifically noted the McDonald Commission's release, on just the previous day, of four volumes of testimony on what happened to Operation Checkmate files. In the released material RCMP Superintendent Yaworski is quoted as describing the material in them as "very explosive" and "potentially damaging," declaring that his "first reaction was to destroy the whole of the files." The Checkmate files were incinerated on June 10, 1977 just 18 days before the RCMP placed a moratorium on their destruction pending the appointment of the McDonald Commission.

This latest blockage only proves the crucial importance of building a powerful basis of support behind Dowson's slander suit as it moves onto the next stage.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forward (43) Oct.-Nov. 1980

10_11-3

SUPPORT THIS CRY FOR JUSTICE!

Trade union councils affiliated to the Canadian Labour Congress from Victoria, B.C. through to St. John, N.B. are already doing so. So too are professors from university law faculties, teachers, writers, civil libertarians, workers, both skilled and unskilled, men and women from almost every walk of life — among them

Peter McLaren, teacher and author of *Cries from the Corridor*

I support the Dowson suit because I want to ensure that our children are brought up in a world that respects justice and the rights of individuals to think and act critically and creatively without fear of being branded as subversives or looked upon as threats. Support for the Dowson suit is a crucial step in protecting our civil rights and preventing a climate of repression to be further established in this country.

Margaret Atwood, author of *Life Before Man, Lady Oracle,* etc.

Illegal actions are illegal no matter who does them. If the police do not respect the laws of the land and the individual's right to privacy, who will?

Clayton C. Ruby, civil libertarian and lawyer

I hope our Courts will openly and fully investigate the actions of the RCMP concerning Ross Dowson. If political freedom is to exist in this country, we must all support the right to organize without being subjected to government terrorism.

Gregory S. Kealey, professor and author of
Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892

In an allegedly democratic society any role of the police which touches on politics should concern us all. The appalling behaviour of the RCMP in the late 1960s and early 1970s, now documented in the Krever, Keable, and McDonald Commissions, went far beyond the norms of a truly democratic society. We should all be working to make sure it doesn't happen again.

Svend Robinson, M.P., Burnaby,
Spokesperson for NDP on Justice and Solicitor-general

Justice and democracy has its price. The RCMP have unlimited federal funds at their disposal. Mr. Dowson's lawyers are volunteering their services. But transcripts will cost thousands of dollars. The RCMP can be beaten in the courts, but it will require all of us to unite to see the case through. I urge you to extend financial support to Mr. Dowson's efforts to obtain justice.

☐ Add my name to the list of supporters.
☐ Enclosed please find a contribution to the Fund to help pay the legal costs.

SIGNATURE .....

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

Return this statement as soon as possible to the Socialist Rights Defence Fund, Christine Judge, administrative secretary, Harry Paine [president of St. David's NDP], treasurer, 50 Thorncliffe Avenue, Toronto, M4K 1V5.

Peter McLaren

Margaret Atwood

Clayton C. Ruby

Gregory S. Kealey

Svend Robinson

I have been declared a subversive. So have my associates in an organization completely supportive of the New Democratic Party. So have other NDPers, unnamed but lumped together in that witch-hunt category "ex-Communists." This accusation was made in the Ontario Legislature, just three years ago, in a statement read by the attorney-general, backed up by the authority of the then solicitor-general of Canada and top RCMP officials —and circulated for reproduction in the daily press.

This word, used to justify RCMP interference in the NDP, the nature and scope of which has not been spelled out to this day, was uttered after careful consideration by persons who know full well that subversion is a grave offense under the Criminal Code.

It resulted in and justifies barn-burnings, stolen membership lists, harassment and detaining of individuals, mail openings and bug plantings, infringing on the civil rights of thousands of us. When the McDonald Commission was set up I and associates presented facts on many ominous incidents for its investigation. Nothing happened. Then suddenly, before the Ontario Royal Commission on the Security of Health Information, the RCMP confessed to having forged and circulated letters that I had submitted to it. Shortly after, in the McDonald Commission's release of highly selected and heavily censored Top Secret RCMP testimony, this appeared as Case 13, in Operation Checkmate.

In its Checkmate operations the RCMP resorted to the infamous fascist concept that, no matter their declared views and no matter their real actions, the "targets" were guilty of "dangerous thoughts", held in secret but known to those in authority. It was a massively organized assault, backed by the full resources of the state, to harass, disrupt, and if possible destroy a number of completely legitimate organizations admittedly innocent of violating even the slightest law or regulation governing this country.

The case of Dowson vs the RCMP has met with a massive blockage at every level of the courts. My half-million-dollar slander suit has so far been stymied from even reaching the preliminary stage of examination for discovery. A federal court judge dismissed one portion of it by declaring the contended statement to be privileged and not subject to suit. On December 9 my lawyers are appealing this ruling which would allow the government and the federal police to declare anyone at will to be subversive, and with complete impunity. When the McDonald Commission denied my lawyer an opportunity to appear before it, his appeal for a federal court order was turned down, with costs of $800.

Immediately upon the RCMP's admission that it forged and distributed false information in violation of the law I urged the Ontario Attorney-General's office to lay charges. Upon its failure to do so my lawyers sought the agreement of a Toronto justice of the peace to allow the laying of charges. After 6 months of delays Attorney-general McMurtry ordered a stay of proceedings to which Judge Allen complied. My lawyers are appealing this ruling which allows the RCMP to violate the law with impunity and compromises privately initiated prosecutions under justice of peace jurisdiction.

I seek justice. I seek to clear my name and those of my associates and the hundreds of known and thousands of unknown victims of RCMP "thought control" illegalities.

Ross Dowson

forward (43) Oct.-Nov. 1980

10-11-4

CLC condemns RCMP-labor ties

by Ross Dowson

A forthright position on what organized labor's relations to the RCMP should be was taken by the 2,736 delegates to Labor's parliament, the 13th constitutional convention of the Canadian Labour Congress held in Winnipeg this spring.

One resolution called on the federal government "to order the RCMP to end its surveillance of the labour movement and put an end to its so-called security work." It also condemned "all collaboration with the RCMP" by organized labour.

The main argument of the resolution was addressed to the scandal of certain union leaders having secret, on-going relations with the RCMP. Concrete evidence of what was long known to be a fact, had surfaced earlier in the pages of **This Magazine**, Nov-Dec 1979, in the form of correspondence between John Fryer, the secretary of the B.C. Government Employees Union, and a vice-president of the CLC, and leaders of the Canadian Union of Public Employees — Lofty MacMillan, director of organization, and President Grace Hartman. Fryer protested that he would not "condone or participate in that kind of activity" and when accused of doing so he noted that he had informed the CUPE leaders of the names of those who are or were the real participants in an "RCMP Labour Committee."

In an open letter dated November 23, 1979, Ross Dowson, who is waging a half-million dollar slander suit against the RCMP, brought this information to the attention of the officers of the Canadian labour movement. He urged them to immediately act to clear up this matter which compromises the integrity of the entire labour movement. He urged the designation of a "Committee of unionists of irreproachable integrity, with the named persons being given an opportunity to explain or clear themselves, and a recommended course of action to be implemented by the union bodies to which they are responsible."

The CLC resolution reads as follows:

Whereas the basic aims of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police run counter to the interests of the trade unions;

Whereas recent forays by the RCMP into bodies like the liaison committee between the police and the unions in British Columbia make it easier for the RCMP to collect data on the labor movement;

Whereas in collecting this information the RCMP directly infringes on the rights of all unionists;

Therefore be it resolved that the congress condemn all collaboration with the RCMP;

And be it further resolved that the Canadian Labour Congress calls on the government to order the RCMP to end its surveillance of the labor movement and put an end to its so-called security work, which consists of spying on the activities of the unions and their members.

Another resolution adopted by the delegates recommended the establishment of an all-party committee of MPs "to review and oversee the RCMP activities."

Halifax group exposes RCMP undercover spy

by Jean Laplante

Socialist militants associated with **In Struggle** have revealed that the RCMP planted a spy as late as last Fall in their Halifax organization. The RCMP did so despite widespread public protests against its so-called "dirty tricks" and its pretence that it has terminated its campaign of harassment of legitimate organizations of social protest.

At an August 25th Halifax press conference, a member of **In Struggle** revealed that Bill Zinck, a student at Dalhousie University School of Social Work, was approached the previous fall by a member of the RCMP's security service who he had come to know some years earlier when he had got into trouble with drugs. Zinck was assigned the task of simulating interest in the ideas, activities, members and contacts of the group in exchange for $125 a month—depending on the quality and the quantity of his information. Several times he was shown books of photographs of militants and supporters of **In Struggle** as well as other people. He identified photographs of rallies or demonstrations organized by **In Struggle** or others, of people outside meetings, in front of their homes or walking along a sidewalk.

This spring Zinck became conscience-stricken and told a fellow student of his activities on behalf of the RCMP. When later confronted by a member of **In Struggle**, he admitted to being on the RCMP payroll as a spy. In breaking off from the RCMP, he confessed he had taken the bait to build up their dossieres on Haligonians when, on returning to school, he found that his own financial problems and those of his immediate family made it extremely difficult for him to continue.

forward (43) Oct.-Nov. 1980
Editor: Wayne Roberts

How can labor stop layoffs?

by the Editors

Plant shutdowns and deep production cutbacks in industry after industry across Canada are continuing to take their toll of workers. The number in Ontario on "indefinite layoff" doubled the first nine months of this year compared to last year, to reach 16,807, according to a report given to the Select Committee on Plant Shutdowns by Ontario Labour Minister Elgie.

The Tory minister dismisses the figures of 56 more shutdowns and 11 more partial closures as not marking any significant rise, relegating them to the status of merely a contributory factor in the mounting unemployment labelled "temporary layoffs." That he could attempt such an obvious ruse only points up the fact that plant closures and production cutbacks have become a way of life under capitalism here. Canada's resources and primary manufacturing industries, largely branch plant operations of U.S. corporate owners and/or their Canadian junior partners, are becoming increasingly expendable as the slump in the world capitalist economy continues to deepen.

The 675 workers at the Arrowhead Metals operation, who two years ago were conned into accepting wage cuts to save the operation, have now settled a seven-month strike and gone back to work — but with their ranks cut in half. The tube mill workers have been scrapped, along with the machinery. Autoworker Local 1067 has just settled a seven-month strike at the Milton and Chatham operations of Rockwell International (Canada) "with a gun at our heads" — the gun was the threat of complete shutdown. As it is, only 80 of the Milton plant workers will return — 380 of their number and the entire 580 at the Chatham plant have been permanently laid off. Local 1067 has been literally blown away. More and more contracts at feet-under-the-table or across-the-picket line negotiations find the spectre of shutdown and lock-out at the bosses' side.

The workers want to fight back. This is apparent from the 12,000 who rallied from across southern Ontario in the massive October 18 demonstration at Toronto's Queen's Park, and from the inspiring plant occupations of autoworkers at Houdaille, Oshawa, and electrical workers at Tunsol International in Brampton. But the leadership has not presented a program or a central demand that meets the challenge of the situation and can stimulate mass struggle in a direction that can win.

The upfront demands at Queen's Park — public justification of shutdowns, advance notice, better severance pay, and pension portability — are not preventive. Not only do they fail to pose an alternative to shutdowns, they implicitly accept them. Even if won they would give only temporary succor, and not even to all of the victims. And they would solve nothing.

The last ditch plant occupations at Oshawa and Brampton, even after all but a scattering of older workers had been dismissed, roused nation-wide enthusiasm and even international attention. Oshawa was once again fuelling the liberatory passions and hopes that the CIO inspired in the midst of the Thirties. The worker-occupiers, over the name plates of the owners, hung the defiant banner UAW-CIO-CLC. They organized tours proudly showing off the tools that they had created and explaining their flexibility and capacity to make many other products besides metal bumpers. UAW Canadian Director Robert White called for government seizure of the company's assets. But only to liquidate them in order to provide a better pension

Continued on Page 2

Continued from Page 1

and severance settlement for the victims.

The answer is public ownership and the allocation of public funds, not to pay the U.S. corporate owners for an operation they drove into bankruptcy, but to retool for production of goods that upon careful investigation are found to be useful to humanity.

The way ahead, insofar as the present workers' leaders have even projected one, is indeed a grim struggle for limited ends. Even if won here and there, their demands will only leave many exhausted and demoralized on the way, and lead only into a dead end. That is not to say that the struggle for workers' control and planned production for use will be easy. But it will inspire an ever-renewing force into combat, for it projects the future into the present. It is an essential component of any industrial strategy that the CLC and its political arm, the NDP, must adopt to arrive at its aim of establishing a socialist democracy in Canada and in our time.

Autonomy battle looms

Will the executive of the Canadian Labor Congress at next month's meeting in Vancouver move from their strong words of indignation against the threats of the business-union Washington-based AFL-CIO trade union bureaucrats to deeds in the interests of their long-frustrated Canadian members?

Will they stand firm against these blackmailers who are withholding their Canadian members' dues in an attempt to bankrupt the CLC into submitting to their commands? Will they defend the Quebec Federation of Labor's decision to continue to encompass within its ranks some 12,000 electricians who over a decade ago decided, as is their democratic right, to quit the U.S. based bureaucratized IBEW, from which they were expelled by a packed San Diego convention? And will they brush aside, with the contempt that it deserves, the demand that the democratic representative rights that now prevail at CLC conventions be drastically curbed so that they take on the characteristics of the machine-run monstrosities on their own stamping grounds?

And should the Canadian leadership stand in defiance against these ultimatums flung by the U.S. building trades brass, will they build up the forces that are necessary to fight back the inevitable reprisals? Will they defend the jobs of Canadian building trades workers by immediately setting up a new and independent structure that will be completely under the democratic control of the Canadian membership as a rallying point from which the battle against the bosses and their labor lieutenants can be joined and won?

It is the elementary duty of the CLC executive to stand up to the U.S. building trades brass. Besides, not for many decades has the situation been so favorable to mobilize forces that on winning this battle, which would shake the CLC down to its very roots, can go on to transform the Canadian labor movement into a much more powerful instrument of the struggle for social justice.

The arrogance of the U.S.-based office holders and the insolence of their road-men lackies not only lay bare the depth of their decay and degeneration but reveal that their time is fast running out. Over the past decade the demand for autonomy has become so powerful at every level of Canadian union ranks that even some of the most ossified sections of the so-called international leadership have been compelled to concede it, before it was wrenched from their grasp. But the wretched betrayal of those who failed to join the Canadian Paperworkers and then broke the CLC's united front behind the beseiged Lumber and Sawmill workers at Boise Cascade shows that they are still a powerful force for evil.

The building trades workers, their strength long-fractured by antediluvian craft union structures, and their isolation from the mainstream of the mass industrial unions, are themselves undergoing ferment that is finding expression in the machine-run provincial councils. Last month, the Quebec Council was reduced to a shell when delegates representing 60% of the affiliated members walked out. Fat-cat James McCambly's threat that his sweetheart deals with the construction bosses placed 70,000 jobs in Alberta in his back pocket cut no ice with them. The BC trades council has been lost to the top brass for years — and now the failure of delegates to the Ontario council in Kingston to respond to a proposal to build a dual structure competitive to the CLC, should its executive not submit to their blackmail, showed that it too is slipping out of their grasp.

The relationship of forces in the CLC has been changing drastically to their disfavor. Powerful, enthusiastic, idealistic, new forces, an increasing number of them women, are flooding into the CLC's ranks, particularly from the growing, strategically-placed services industries, organized along industrial lines in Canadian national unions. Membership in the so-called Internationals peaked at 67.1% in 1965 to drop to 62.5% in 1978, whereas membership in national unions that year grew 4.3% and 7.8% for government employees' unions.

The building trades ranks, given a fighting alternative, are prepared to break free of the suffocating grip of the Washington-based machine. There can be no compromise and the new forces in the CLC are not seeking any. They are prepared to do battle and are waiting for the call.

A word from the CLC executive would waken this giant out of its apathy, restore to organized labor the liberatory image that has become tarnished, transform it, and place it at the front of the struggle of the Canadian people in its aim to establish a socialist democracy. This can be a decisive turning point in labor's struggle. This is the challenge before the executive of the 3 million-strong members of the CLC.

forward (43) Oct.-Nov. 1980

10-11-6

Labor deal on Bill 89 brings forth bitter fruit

by P. Kent

There is little satisfaction for union militants in seeing their fears and warnings against Bill 89 amendments to Ontario's labor code more than vindicated and in only a matter of months. The deal cooked up by the minority Tory government, with the full agreement of the Ontario Federation of Labor (OFL) leadership and the NDP parliamentary caucus, granted a compulsory dues checkoff for all employees in a unionized shop, but only in return for labor's conceding the right to the bosses to go over the heads of elected union leaders to enforce, in the midst of a strike, a new vote conducted by the government on the offer already rejected and being fought out on the picket line.

The first government-conducted vote took place on July 19 in Brantford where over 100 members of Lodge 1673 of the International Association of Machinists had been mounting a picket line since early May against Worthington-Canada Inc. Obviously aware of the dangers lurking behind the vote the local's leadership called for a 90% to 100% rejection and the Brantford movement swung in behind it. It obtained only a 77% rejection notwithstanding. Instead of sweetening the pot as OFL leader Pilkey assured that the company would do—having got 23% of the vote, Worthington made no substantial concessions and nothing at all to the key demand for a COLA clause. It went on the offensive to turn the union's setback into a rout. It laid down an ultimatum that failure to accept the new offer would result in the plant being pulled out of Brantford—already staggering from massive layoffs at Massey-Ferguson and White's. The union leadership urged rejection pointing out that the company was laying legal charges against some key unionists and taking disciplinary actions against a leading militant. In a September 10 ballot, 77% voted in favor of acceptance and the picket line was folded up. This complete reversal, from 77% opposed to 75% in favor, can only be attributed to the union-busting opportunities that the government intervention opens up for the bosses.

The fourth government-conducted vote directly involved over a hundred members of the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers Union who have struck Canada Cement LaFarge operations in Woodstock, but it also has ramifications for the union's efforts to establish a national contract. The October 15 vote divided the local down the middle, 58 against to 57 for acceptance of the offer, although only several days later the local called a meeting attended by the majority of the bargaining unit which voted to continue the strike.

The union has filed charges of unfair practices — on the eve of the vote the company president threatened that if the offer was turned down the plant would be closed permanently. The same offer was made to other locals. At Winnipeg and at Havelock, N.B., the vote ended the strike with the local leaderships signing agreements. The international has refused to underwrite these agreements. Thus the government intervention has gravely undermined the workers' unity at several levels and thrown the union into chaos.

The OFL convention must open up a full discussion of this experience, above all on the meaning of the OFL-NDP leaderships' opportunistic deal with the pro-boss Ontario government. The delegates must lay the basis for the establishment of a new leadership that can lead a struggle to wipe out the union-busting Bill 89 amendments and can arm Ontario labor for the challenging battles ahead.

Nickel worker unions seek North American contract

by P. Kent

Represenatives of workers employed in the mining and smelting of nickel are laying the groundwork for coordinated bargaining of the entire North American nickel industry. Delegates from nine autonomous union locals met in Oregon last summer to reach agreement on principles of coordinated bargaining with the corporate bosses of what is truly a trans-national industry.

The unionists confronted the fact that if one source of raw material is shut down, processing plants can be supplied from elsewhere; likewise, if one refinery is struck, materials can be directed elsewhere. The aim of coordinated bargaining is to block a company from playing one local off against another and using profits and production from non-striking plants to break strikes at other plants.

The structure of a North American Nickel Coordinated Bargaining Council was set with worked-out representation from the various locals. Sudbury Inco workers, for instance, will have five voting delegates, Thompson Inco workers two, Oregon Hanna Mining workers two, Louisiana Amax workers two, and so on. The council will prepare contract proposals and decide whether an issue is local or should be settled by the master agreement.

The jumping off point for coordinated bargaining is 1982. Four of the locals are preparing to bring their contract expiration date into line with the other five.

Oh Canada

by P. Kane

Last June the Ontario Tory government, in response to the widespread and profound unease about U.S. domination of the Canadian economy and stimulated by the increasing number of shutdowns of branch-plant operations, launched its "foreign subsidiary buyout program." Of course the government itself wasn't to buy out with public funds a plant that had already closed down or one that was about to be closed down by its U.S. owners. There was not the slightest hint of public ownership.

The plan was to assist others to buy up a foreign-owned plant that would otherwise be closed or sold to other foreign interests. First qualification—you had to be a Canadian—or a group of Canadians. Another qualification was that you had to be prepared to invest at least 10% of the purchase price. And if you could cope with that there was another qualification to be met if you wanted to latch on to some of the $10 million annual budget of the program. You had to prove to the officials administering the fund that you would have a "viable operation."

Some Canadians down in Burlington called Bradley-Fenn Enterprises Incorporated were granted a loan to purchase another plant there that had been owned by Duplate and Monsanto. Those Canadians already had something going for them in Burlington, for on top of their Bradley-Fenn operation they had to invest at least 10% of the value of the Duplate-Monsanto operation to get their $250,000 loan.

As of September 29 that was the only loan that had been made by the program. Of course it couldn't be that those Americans close down their branch plants because they're no longer really viable. It's probably because we Canadians just don't have any get-up and go, or 10% of the purchase price—or any schemes that are "viable."

Not to worry about your benefits running out, or your mortgage being foreclosed! Although the program has only made one loan, Industry and Tourism Minister Larry Grossman is satisfied that the program will work. He said so!

When the revised Bank Act gets through its third and final reading, upon the ending of the Commons debate on the constitution resolution, the situation confronting indigenous Canadian banking interests in relation to the encroachments of U.S. banking interests will be considerably different than it was back in 1967. The four extensions since then, and in particular since 1974, have seen the assets of foreign bankers here escalate almost 500%, to total $8.2 billion, largely in business loans.

Foreign bank assets, controlled largely by the super U.S. imperialist Citibank and Chase Manhattan, have been undergoing successive 12 month gains which reached 60% during the year ending this July — or more than $3 billion. With another year's growth like last year's, the foreign banks will have broken through the ceilings that were proposed to firm up indigenous Canadian financial institutions' control of the country's financial structures. The $8 billion figure released by the Bank of Canada is only the tip of the U.S. iceberg since it does not include representative offices and financial institutions — the near-bank explosion that opened the door to the influx of foreign-owned banking interests in the '70s.

While the real processes and hard facts of life are dealing a beating to the formulae that the Canadian capitalist class are Numero Uno in Canada and that Canada is not a U.S. dependency but a front ranking imperialist power to boot, the daily press is playing up the heightening presence of Canadian-based real estate developers and Canadian banks south of the border. But the descent of Canadian capitalist interests on the U.S. heartland is not in contradiction to the fact that the Canadian capitalist class are junior partners of U.S. capital in the exploitation of the natural resources and work force within Canada itself. It is in fact just the reverse side of the same coin.

As Peter Godsoe, executive president of the Bank of Nova Scotia, put it: "there isn't enough business in Canada to justify just doing business there." Besides, Canadian banks find it is more profitable in the U.S. The Royal's international operations for the third quarter represented the only gain in the bank's earnings. Royal's international operations represented 55% of its earnings while employing only 35% of its assets. The Bank of Commerce uses its U.S. West Coast subsidiary to get in on the ground floor with U.S. branch plant operations that it services through its home base operations.

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With the option of public ownership ruled out as a matter of the highest principle as an alternative to U.S. imperialist domination and distortion of the Canadian economy which has been resulting in a spread of branch plant closures, Ottawa is seeking to weaken the U.S. impact through an attempt to diversify foreign investment.

Foreign Investment Review Agency officials have switched roles from screening undesireables from lines of would-be investors, to travelling to West Germany, with the encouragement of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, seeking out investors. In the early '70s West German investments were distributed equally between Canada and U.S. but they have been dropping precipitously — to 3.7% during the first half of 1980 when the U.S. received 46% of total West German investments abroad.

With the increased sales of Japanese cars in Canada, Minister of Trade and Commerce Gray is pressing Japan to invest more in Canadian-made parts. He is backing up his request with a scarcely veiled threat that Ottawa will take measures to protect the auto industry here from Japanese competition. However, such measures, as long as Canada does not have a nationally-owned car industry would only increase the power of the U.S.-owned monopolies. Direct Japanese investment here is approximately $700 million — 0.6% of total direct foreign investment. However Japan buys $2 billion more than it sells in Canada — mostly in unfinished goods and raw materials with a low labor content.

forward (43) Oct.- Nov. 1980

10-11-1

New stage in Dowson suit against RCMP

by Chris Judge

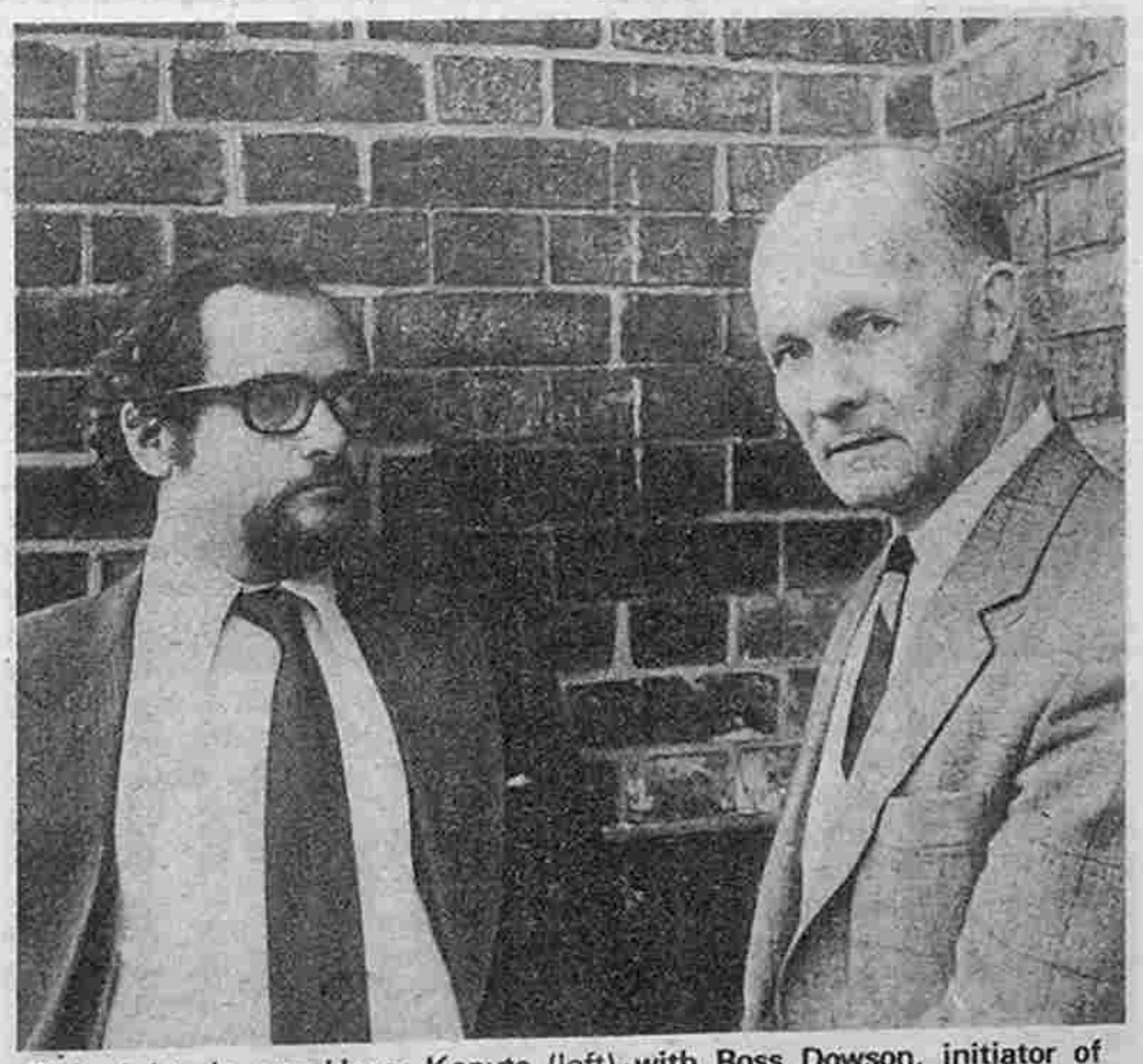
The central suit in the legal efforts in Ross Dowson's name against the longstanding quasi-illegality (if not in law, in actual fact) of the labor and socialist movements in Canada, comes to the fore on December 9. Dowson's half-million dollar slander suit against the RCMP was initiated when Ontario's Attorney-general, with the authority of the then attorney-general and top RCMP officials, named him and other Waffle supporters and NDPers as subversives in order to cover up RCMP interventions in the internal affairs of the NDP.

It was a year before the RCMP launched a motion to block the Dowson suit on the grounds that the statement made in the Ontario legislature and released for publication in the mass media was a privileged communication and not subject to suit. Almost another year later, following a federal court hearing, Judge Campbell Grant dismissed a major portion of the suit, ruling that the statements were privileged, but permitting it to continue to trial on the basis of Dowson's allegations that the words complained of were repeated on other occasions.

It is this decision that both Dowson and the RCMP, from completely opposite poles, are appealing to the Federal Court of Appeal next month.

Can the RCMP with the full resources of the state be allowed to label individuals and groups of people as subversive with impunity? And having done so can it be allowed to act on this word to deprive them of their civil rights as the RCMP has admitted it did in the course of Operation Checkmate? From the partial revelations of the McDonald Commission testimony this was a massive assault concentrated in a period spanning 1969-1973, and still not ended, to harass, disrupt and, if possible, destroy a number of completely legitimate organizations innocent of violating even the slightest law or regulation governing this country. In its course the RCMP violations of the law involved among others: conspiracy to violate the rights of Canadians as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, fraud, private and public mischief, communicating false messages, criminal slander, attempted assault, threatening bodily harm, etc., etc..

The Dowson suit is an attempt to publicize the facts and to alert the Canadian people to this danger so that it cannot happen again. The right of the Canadian people to hold ideas of social change and to implement them as is their democratic right, is at stake!



Civil rights lawyer Harry Kopyto (left) with Ross Dowson, initiator of RCMP slander suit.

Inside This Issue

Br.Labour goes left p.2
RCMP supplement p.3-4
NDP and Quebec ... p.5